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Fellowship

MAGAZINE OF THE
FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION

BEGINNING A SERIES ON LATIN AMERICA BY SIDNEY LENS

GUATEMALA REVISITED

David Andrews — WHICH WAY TO DISARMAMENT?

John M. Swomley Jr. — OUR COMMISSIONED CLERGYMEN

Wallace Hamilton — THE GAME OF CONFLICT

William Robert Miller — AIDS FOR PEACE ACTION

THE BERLIN CRISIS: CAN WAR BE AVERTED? See page 17

Potpourri: Dale Aukerman reports on the Christian Peace Conference at Prague

Fellowship

Box 271, Nyack, New York

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COVER PHOTO: President Ydigoras of Guatemala (with binoculars, far right) with troops who crushed an attempted rebellion, Nov. 23, 1960. (UPI Photo)

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EDITOR
ALFRED HASSLER

MANAGING EDITOR
WILLIAM ROBERT MILLER

EDITORIAL ASSISTANT
PAUL PEABODY

EDITORIAL CONTRIBUTORS
Vera Brittain
Margueritte Harmon Bro
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Albert Edward Day
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Douglas V. Steere
John M. Swomley Jr.
Howard Thurman

ILLUSTRATOR
BARRY MARTIN

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Guatemala Revisited

BY SIDNEY LENS

Introduction

THE SPECTER HAUNTING Latin America is no longer rooted in the past of Bolivar or Hidalgo, but in the dynamic present of Castro's Cuba. Wherever one goes Cuba has become, for good or ill, the measuring rod.

A leftist, though non-communist, student at Guatemala's university says: "There is no other question for Latin America, only Cuba"; and by that he means that the twenty good neighbors are destined to travel the *Fidelista* road. Another, middle-of-the-road law student, says: "The United States has its last chance if we are to avoid the path of Cuba." A Socialist mayor of one city told me: "You Americans must choose. It is either us or Fidel." And as far as the United States is concerned, it is no secret that President Kennedy's Alliance for Progress is aimed at in sulating the other nineteen Latin countries from Cuban influence.

What makes Cuba so pivotal is not that it elicits total support in all circles. Most Latins were elated when the Cuban David staved off the American Goliath in the ill-fated April invasion. Non-intervention and self-determination are principles they believe in fervidly, and anti-Yanquism is a tradition that runs back to American seizure of one-half of Mexico in 1848 and the later gunboat diplomacy. But it is not this jarring memory that makes Cuba so important in intellectual circles south of the border. Nor is it entirely the charismatic character of Fidel Castro or even the impressive social reforms he has introduced. Among the university youth, who are very largely on Cuba's side, this weighs heavily. But the adult intelligentsia is more reserved, concerned with Castro's increasing re-

AN EXPERIMENT

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FELLOWSHIP
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liance on the Soviets. Despite that, however, Cuba remains the fixed star of Latin American political horizons.

Revolutions Past and Present

The reason rests in history. For a hundred and fifty-one years, since the priest Hidalgo organized the first Mexican revolution against Spain, Latin America has dripped with blood and frustration. Scores of revolts, *coups d'état,* revolutions, and millions of deaths, spent in an effort to win the better life, have hardly made a dent in the closed circle of poverty, illiteracy, hunger, and disease. In Mexico alone, from 1910 to 1929, hundreds of thousands of men—some estimates go as high as 1.2 million—died in a brutal internecine warfare following the long 1910-1917 revolution. Yet the continent, except for a few dozen major cities, is still a long way from the twentieth century. The Latin-American revolution has been of a chug-chug variety, moving hesitantly forward and frequently backward, unable to come close to the cherished goal of an abundant life.

Since 1959, Cuba has changed the vistas of hope—not only for those favorable to Castro but for those antagonistic as well. Latin Americans now KNOW that their heartbreaking effort to win independence plus viability is nearing completion. Castro has created a pole of comparison that is radical and extreme, and no matter what happens to him or his revolution, change in other Latin American countries will also have to be radical and extreme. The situation is comparable to technological progress: once talking pictures were introduced, the silent movies were destined to go out of business.

The Latin-American intelligentsia, particularly its students, are comparison-conscious. They scrutinize their own government's plans for agrarian reform, housing. medical facilities, schooling, diversification of agriculture—and measure them against Cuba's. And though that intelligentsia commands no armies, it articulates the aspirations of the great mass of people who are capable of immobilizing armies. I asked a Mexican student whether Mexico was close to a new revolution: "No," he said, "but we students are moving rapidly to the left, and certainly you know that once the intellectual class is aroused it is the beginning of a big change."

Perhaps he was taken up with his own enthusiasm, but it seems clear that the Western Hemisphere is at a critical turning point, and that American intellectuals, just like their Latin-American counterparts, must do some serious soul-searching, and find a new focus for their own comparisons. Is it meaningful to keep screeching empty anti-Communist phrases and calling Cuba Communist, or must we look seriously at Cuba's source of attractiveness? Must we continue to fill political terms with our own connotations, or must we look at them from the viewpoint of other people? What, for instance, does the word "democracy" mean to an Indian peasant in the mountains of Mexico or Guatemala? How close to his intellectual purview are such concepts as totalitarianism or freedom, and if he does understand them what content does he give them? Does he mean by "freedom" the right to a secret ballot or the title to a piece of land he can finally call his own? When he thinks of "totalitarianism" is he thinking of communism in faraway China or the totalitarianism of his *fincaro* or foreign landowner? We must start not from our own experience but from that of the Latin American people in their *bohios, barraccas,* and *jacales.* And we must judge the policies of our own country not from a sense of national pride or patriotism alone, but from its realistic effect on other people. Please note: *people,* not governments.

Guatemala Revisited

PERHAPS NO SPOT in Latin Amer-ca can offer us a greater insight than Guatemala. It is, in a sense, the anti-ode to Cuba. If there is any under-eveloped country in the world (out-ide of Puerto Rico) where the "Amer-can way" has been tested against the un-American way" it is in this small ation the size of Tennessee, cradled n Central America. Here in 1954 our Central Intelligence Agency under-wrote and guided a military offensive hat overthrew the leftist government of Jacob Arbenz Guzman. Here, since 1954, many dedi-cated men of our United States Oper-ations Mission, and other agencies, have spent $132 million on roads, schools, housing, potable water projects, "land reform," malaria control, in an effort to prove that "our way" was better than that of the "Com-munist-oriented" Arbenz. We clearly intended to make this a showplace of how the underprivileged could be ele-vated by non-Communist methods. What has resulted, unfortunately, has been quite the reverse. Guatemala indi-cates the grave weakness of our policy.

The tragedy cannot be assessed through the crude terms "yankee im-perialism" or "banana republics." Most United States officials I spoke to here do not strike me as prototypes of the "ugly American." Almost all speak Spanish fluently; most are sincerely de-sirous of helping to remold the condi-tions of abysmal poverty. But all are caught in the maw of an *impossible* policy that can only enhance the rich, and must bypass the poor.

Let's look at the background of Guatemala.

Guatemala in Spanish times was part of a single colony that now comprises five Central American countries. When the Spanish empire was breaking up during the 1820s, Guatemala declared its independence and in 1839 estab-lished itself as a republic. But though it achieved autonomy it only partially modified the feudal institutions it in-herited from Spanish days. On occa-sion, in the following century, liberal regimes emerged such as that of Bar-rios in 1871, which separated church from state. But by and large Guatemala was ruled by a suc-cession of dictators, aided and abetted by foreign compa-nies, who shared in the largesse. The dic-tators and compa-nies such as United Fruit grew affluent, often arrogant. but the great mass of people remained just about where they were during Spanish, even pre-Spanish times. The Indians, who comprise 65 per cent of the Guate-malan population, were—and are—still living, for the most part, as they did in the days of the Mayan empire. The last high-handed ruler in this cycle was a man named Jorge Ubico who domi-nated the country for fourteen years un-til a revolutionary group, headed by Juan Jose Arevalo, swept him into the historical dustbin.

Dawn of Constitutional Rule

Radical Guatemalans date their mod-ern liberation from October 20, 1944 when the old line of dictatorships tem-porarily ended. Both Arevalo and his successor, Arbenz, were constitutionally elected, and during their decade in power inaugurated many significant so-cial reforms. All men, eighteen years

old or over, whether literate or not, and all women of the same age, provided they could read and write, were given the right to vote. Following the Mexican pattern, national presidents were chosen for a single six-year term with no right of succeeding themselves. Elections were by secret ballot and the freedoms of assembly, expression, press, and the like, were unambiguously written into the constitution.

Unions. never before legal, were given modern status under a new labor code, and in the short period of nine years grew to five hundred in number and 107,000 in membership. The union of teachers, in particular, became a bastion of the democratic process, and Arevalo's political party was based primarily on this support—Arevalo himself having been an educator. Wages in most economic sectors went up appreciably, and the worker gained a sense of security and dignity he looks to today with a feeling of nostalgia.

During the clipped three-year Arbenz regime some 85,000 peasant families were given plots of land and in many areas peasants overran the farms of the *finca* owners and divided the acreage among themselves. Arbenz, it is true, considered the land national property and gave no individual title, but the peasants did have the use of this property and a sense of ownership.

Social reform spread its wings to some degree or another in every field. Public education, for instance, was given its first important impetus. Without any foreign aid, the regime built 147 new schools, composed of 564 classrooms. A few clinics, hospitals. roads, and a small measure of social security rounded out the social advance. On the drawing boards when Arbenz was overthrown were plans for serious electrification—still not undertaken—and similar ventures.

The Arbenz period, however, was one not only of change but of turbulence. Bitterness over social change led to many conflicts and not a few deaths—some estimates run as high as 700. The Communist Party (PGT), having achieved legality only a few years before, became a serious force as Arbenz ally. It was powerful (if not decisive) in implementing land reform, in the trade unions, and in many mass organizations. This was a condition that the United States, the State Department, the fruit company, and Guatemalan rightists refused to accept. Then, as today, the State Department principle seemed to be: "We can't negotiate on communism."

Castillo and the Military Junta

In June 1954 a military leader, Colonel Carlos Castillo Armas, outfitted a small force in neighboring Honduras—with the help of the U. S. Central Intelligence Agency—and invaded his homeland. He didn't get as far as the capital, but Arbenz, fearful of massive bloodshed and deserted by the army, refused to give arms to the unions and peasant organizations, and sought sanctuary in a friendly embassy. In a short while Castillo was in Guatemala City, heading a new government with fervid American support. Instead of elections he conducted what was undoubtedly a farcical referendum, investing himself in power. People who voted in this poll were required to sign their names to their ballot, and could hardly be expected to do otherwise but vote "yes" under conditions where the military ruled the nation.

Here begins the present phase of the saga. A pro-American, a strong anti-communist, was now at the helm. The United States began to pour in tens of millions of dollars—in a country of 3.8 million people—to buttress this experiment. Both Castillo and the Americans made it clear to the world—particularly in the face of widespread criticism over the American-supported overthrow—that something new was about to happen. We were going to

how the undeveloped countries another—and better—approach than that of communism.

In 1955, less than a year after Castillo's accession to power, I visited Guatemala and spoke to dozens of intellectuals, unionists, and government people.* Americans were frankly disheartened: the new era had clearly not begun. They still had hopes for the future, however, and were freely predicting a change.

The first acts of the new regime were clearly ominous. From June to November 1954 thousands of workers and political leaders were arrested, some kept in jail for 60 days and released, others held longer. Employers fired militant union members with impunity. The public relations chief of the United Fruit told me the company had discharged 70 to 80 men on the charge of being "absent without permission"; they had been in hiding during the perilous days when the government was being overthrown. The railroad, part of the United Fruit empire, fired 200, according to a reliable American source. All unions were completely dismantled—on the theory they were "political"—and Castillo promised he would only permit those organizations to function that were clearly un-political—an impossible task in an underdeveloped country. After his first year in office there were still less than one-fifth the number of union members of the year before, and not a single strike had been sanctioned or tolerated. Perhaps one of the worst blows to organized labor was a decree that no farm with less than 500 workers could be unionized—just about every one except that of United Fruit. Wages were often cut—for instance those of the teachers, against whom Castillo took sharp reprisals—while prices, at least for a while, tended to zoom upwards.

The 85,000 parcels of land that had been distributed to the peasants were all given back to their former large holders. Some *finca* owners, in a show of strength, marched back to their lands and burned the crops of the unfortunate peasants who had been working them. In a few farms the restored owners turned their cattle loose on the *campesinos'* fields, to let them forage on the near-ripe corn. United Fruit, which had lost most of its holdings, was gratuitously given back its largesse, and as a gesture of gratitude it made a gift to the government of 100,000 acres of unused land. A businessman I spoke to described the typical large *finca* owner as a man who earned ten times as much as all his employees combined, drove a Cadillac (costing $9,000 in Guatemala during those days), plus a smaller one for his wife and for his son; while the peasant lived in a miserable hut, earned 40¢ or 50¢ a day, subsisting on beans, corn and chile, for himself, his wife and eight children—one of them probably dying.

General Ydigoras Takes Over

Castillo Armas was assassinated in mid-1957 and after a few tense moments and two ballotings (the first one was so patently dishonest that the army ruled it invalid), Miguel Ydigoras Fuentes was elected President in March 1958. Ydigoras, an old general with distinct rightist leanings (he strongly urged, for instance, that all American states should quickly recognize Trujillo's son after the Dominican dictator was assassinated) is a more flexible personality who, in a mild way, is an opponent of the Castillo supporters. He quickly split his predecessor's following by incorporating some of them into his regime, and he has been far less brutal in his relationships with the masses. As one trade unionist put it to me: "Castillo used to throw people in jail for six months or a year, without regard to *habeas corpus*. Ydigoras creates a reign of fear by arresting people for

* See "The Revolution in Guatemala" by Sid Lens in FELLOWSHIP, March 1956.

six or ten days and releasing them before the judicial processes get under way."

The new President, whom I interviewed this year, is a wily man, personable, and considered highly cooperative by American diplomats. As late as July 1961, he still denied to me that any Cuban invaders had been trained on his soil. He evidently has learned well the technique of using "anti-communism" as a lever for currying favor from the U.S. because he attributed an attempted *coup d'état* that had occurred the day before to an alliance of rightists, Ché Guevara, and the Communists. This, despite the fact that his own secretary and the official newspaper had clearly stated that the action had been rightist and that more than a hundred rightists had been arrested.

Ydigoras' rule has been much more intelligent than that of his predecessor. He is not as hysterical about opposition, he permits a fair degree of criticism in the press, and as far as is known has released all political prisoners except those involved in *coup* attempts.

Yet, despite the difference in operation and mood, Ydigoras' regime must be considered as a continuation of the Castillo era. It commands the same American support and follows substantially the same policies. Whatever hostility exists between the President and supporters of Castillo must be put down merely to tactics and personality clashes.

U.S. Aid Makes the Rich Richer

The evidence at the end of seven years of the "anti-communist way" is today even more disheartening than it was in 1955. With the large influx of American dollars, both from our government and invited American capital, quite a bit has been done. There are new schools, factories, roads, houses, agricultural expansion and so on. But the *structure* of Guatemala is painfully the same. Except in the rarest instances the benefits go to those who need it least. And the bondage of the 2.8 million (of 3.8 million) who live on a virtual subsistence level *outside* the economy is the same as it was yesterday. Not only have the rich grown richer but no foundation is being laid for the poor *ever* to elevate themselves—short of radical measures.

Arbenz' land reform, which gave land to 85,000 peasants, has been abrogated and the land taken back. In 1955 government officials urged me to keep an open mind and wait until Castillo's agrarian reform got rolling. It was hinted that a far larger number of peasants would eventually benefit than under the "Communist" regime. But six years later the record shows a mere 4,078 holdings distributed—and none of it taken from large owners, all coming either from government farms or carved out of the jungle. True, the present recipient is given legal title, and USOM meticulously builds small houses for the inhabitants and nearby schools. But four thousand parcels in a country where 70 per cent of the rural population is starving for land, and where sixty percent of the arable soil is untilled—three million acres out of five million! What must the 85,000 peasants feel who once had their hands on plots but had to give them up and go back to their semi-feudal status? To the government's credit it should be recorded that it has also given some tiny grants to about 17,000 other peasants—but these are uneconomic units not meant to give a peasant a living, but merely to act as a supplement to his wages as a farm laborer. On this plot

e grows a little corn and beans to take
ıre of needs that are unsatisfied by
is meager wage.

By contrast, the government has
uietly given holdings of 550 acres each
o some of its favorites—lawyers, doc-
ors, military men—in regions such as
abal. During Castillo's days the Pres-
ident promised to divide among the
easants some 110,000 acres at Huitzi-
il; instead the area was given to mili-
ary leaders and other court followers.

Average Farm Wage Under 60c a Day

Of the 349,000 farms in Guatemala,
ne-third of one percent of the owners
old more than fifty percent of the
creage. Yet the regime has done noth-
ng to repair the disparity. If anything,
onditions have become worse. During
ecent years Guatemala has encouraged
ew crops, such as cotton, which are
rown in large farms as an export com-
modity. These owners have been lav-
shed with credits and other benefits,
ut the unfortunate peasant on a sub-
istence farm, or the agricultural labor-
r, remains as before—hungry. In places
uch as Alta Verapaz, wages are as low
as *ten cents a day*. The average is still
below 60¢, and only in a few areas
does it go higher.

From October 1953 to June 1954—
when Arbenz fell—the Arbenz govern-
ment gave out $8 million in credit to
small farmers. In the four and a half
years from early 1956 to mid-1960, the
Castillo-Ydigoras regimes made avail-
able only $3 million to a similar class
of peasants.

Statistics on agricultural production
do show an increase. But most of it is
in export crops, which bring in foreign
exchange. When one considers that the
population has been growing at the
exceptionally high rate of three percent
a year, the food produced has hardly
kept up with population expansion.
Everyone agrees that the peasant today
is certainly no better off than he was
in 1954. A 1960 survey by the Institute for Nutrition for Central America and Panama reveals some disheartening facts about diet and life expectancy. Guatemala has the highest disease and child mortality rate in Central America, and perhaps in the world. In a study of 222 deaths among children aged one to fifteen, forty died of malnutrition. Deaths from diarrhea run to 269.2 per 100,000 population—many, many times that of the United States. A calculation by the same agency of food intake for rural families shows that the peasant eats less than one-fortieth of a pound of milk, and one-hundredth of a pound of eggs per day, as against two pounds of starches. The Guatemalan has a life span of barely forty years, as against seventy or more in the U.S.

Perhaps the best barometer of the government's apathy toward improving the plight of the small farmer is the fact that out of a budget of $120 million this year only $5.5 million is being spent on agriculture.

Theoretically the *finca* owner could expand his holdings and greatly increase food production for the internal market. But he feels no incentive to spend money for machinery, fertilizer and other improvements. Labor is so cheap it seems futile to invest money in labor-saving devices, particularly since—given the pathetically low wages—the internal market for food is so small.

The Plight of the Urban Worker

As for the urban worker, his plight too has remained the same—filled with injustices, inequities and poverty. Prices today, according to government statistics, are almost identical with what they were in 1954. Wages. however, have also remained stationary. There has not been a general wage increase for eight long years. In 1961 there was a small breakthrough for teachers, who were given a boost. But the raise was temporarily canceled the following

month, presumably because of a shortage of federal funds. The average wage for 4,000 schoolteachers was approximately $75 a month—as against $125 for policemen, who are evidently more vital to the state's security.

Weak Unions—No Minimum Wage

Unions are still a shadow of their former selves. My notes in 1955 show there were 20,000 union members. Today there are only 16,000. A 1957 chart pinned on the wall of the Consejo Sindical de Guatemala—the affiliate of the free trade unions here and closely allied with AFL-CIO—tells the frustrating story. The chart indicates a membership of 2,500 at that time and plans for a projected growth for the year up to 22,000. But four years later the enrollment has actually dropped to a mere 1,500 in ten small unions.

Despite a constitutional right to strike there have been virtually no walkouts. Bus workers recently went out for a few days; the teachers—who are still not permitted to form a union—lost a strike in 1960; some government workers have been on what they call a hunger strike—they sit at their desks but refuse to eat. That, however, seems to be the extent of labor's efforts to defend itself. When I asked the Secretary of Information why there were so few unions he said that workers in Guatemala don't need them, they can take their cases to court on their own. But who provides them with wage increases? A government survey of workers on social security (both on the farm and in the city) shows 49 percent were earning $19.99 a month or less, and 66 percent were earning $29.99 a month or less. In agriculture the parallel figures were 64 percent and 84 percent. The man who earns $1 a day is doing better than average. With that money he must pay rent of $10 to $20 for a single room for himself and family, and food prices that are much the same as we pay in the U.S. Except for the textile industry there is no minimum wage by law and the work week is still 48 hours.

Social security is confined to accident payments and maternity benefits. There is no unemployment compensation, no pensions, no medical insurance. A worker who is laid off is entitled to a month's pay for each year of service, but he has nothing else to tide him over to the next job. And unemployment, presently, is increasing.

Schools and Housing

During the Arevalo-Arbenz era, without American help, 147 new schools were built, consisting of 564 classrooms. In six years of the subsequent "new era," with considerable U.S. aid, 85 schools were erected with 642 classrooms. This slight advantage is somewhat minimized, however, when one considers that the Castillo-Ydigoras schools are almost all replacements in areas that had schools before, rather than new schools servicing new areas. There are still a half million youngsters without school facilities, and though there is a shortage of 14,000 teachers new graduates can find no assignments because there just are not enough classrooms. In 1954, seventy-two percent of the population was illiterate; in 1961 the figure is still seventy-two percent. Seven out of ten Guatemalans cannot read or write. Teachers complain that schools are allotted only $6 a month—for a whole school—for supplies, such as chalk, paper, books, etc. Textbooks are still carryovers from the 1954 days and in many schools children double up on a single book. Classes run between fifty and a hundred pupils in the primary schools and often there is a double shift—hardly conditions for good education. The entire budget for primary and secondary schooling is merely $14.5 million a year.

The story in housing is not more promising. USOM has inaugurated a program which is most impressive tech

tally. The potential owners must put 420 hours of their own labor to help hion a modest but comfortable little ucture that costs $2,600 to erect. terwards they pay $15 a month for enty years until they receive free le. The idea, it seems to me, is a good e. But in three and one half years ly 1,720 such structures have been ected—as against a shortage of urban elling units estimated by the Pan-merican Union to be about 75,000. nd even these 1,720 have gone only family heads who earn $68 to $130 a onth—more than double the average age of city workers. For the lower strata, nich should have received first at-ntion, there e no dwell-ngs as yet nd none con-mplated by ne govern-ent. There is private plan y an Ameri-n businessman to build 10,000 homes r $700 apiece, with payments of 5 a month. But as one American, ho has lived here for two decades, old me: "I'll believe that when I see ." In the rural areas, where the short-ge is really acute, nothing is being one beyond putting up homes for the 000 farmers who have received strips f land.

This is the picture of Guatemala at s grass roots, basically unchanged om the day when Castillo's—and the nited States'—experiment began.

Graft and Quick Profits

But if the poorer classes have found o balm in the Castillo-Ydigoras epoch, he upper classes and the foreign com-anies have done quite well. Graft and ribery are an accepted way of life, no ifferent today than under the old dic-atorships. Many a politician is grow-ng rich all of a sudden. Native capi-alists and foreign capitalists both have been given generous incentives to build new factories, including ten-year tax exemptions, and highly favorable amortization allowances. Profits must be attractive, because the rate of annual foreign investment since the days of Arbenz has increased by three thousand percent.

No one can argue against incentives to industrialize a country. But it hardly seems fair to waive taxes for business while so many people are at the brink of destitution. Nor is it clear why Guatemala refuses to impose a progressive income tax on its citizens which might redistribute income in favor of the poor. My notes in 1955 read: "Income tax expected to pass in a few months." In 1961 there is still no such tax and it is hardly possible there will be one under the present regime. The rich are becoming richer and sending millions of dollars to United States banks for safekeeping. The foreign companies are earning a handsome and quick profit.

On the outskirts of Guatemala City are sumptuous homes comparable to the best almost anywhere. The large *finca* owners, as indicated, earn fortunes, as do most politicians. The President of the Republic has a salary of $144,000 a year plus $1.5 million as a "confidential fund" to be spent as he sees fit. When I asked Ydigoras what he did with this latter sum, he replied that he bestowed favors on needy people for medical care, funerals and the like. At $50 a favor that would give help to 30,000 citizens each year. Everyone knows, of course, that this is a political slush fund and that some of it certainly must remain with the chief officer.

It would be foolish of course—and

untrue—to paint everything in Guatemala as black. USOM, in particular, is doing some fine work in a limited way. Its program for malaria control promises in another year to stamp out entirely this disease which plagues 73 percent of the country's area. The potable water program will install four hundred clean water systems over a ten year period. Hundreds of kilometers of new roads have been built, one of them connecting the Atlantic and Pacific coasts for the first time.

Furthermore, one must take into account the difficulties of a one-crop economy such as Guatemala's. The price of coffee has fallen in recent years, and coffee comprises three-quarters of the nation's exports.

When all is said and done, however, the Guatemalan experiment stands as a monument to failure. Perhaps the men who fashioned the experiment were sincere—or at least some of them. Probably the United States has wanted to produce a better record for its vaunted ally.

A Shortage of Insight

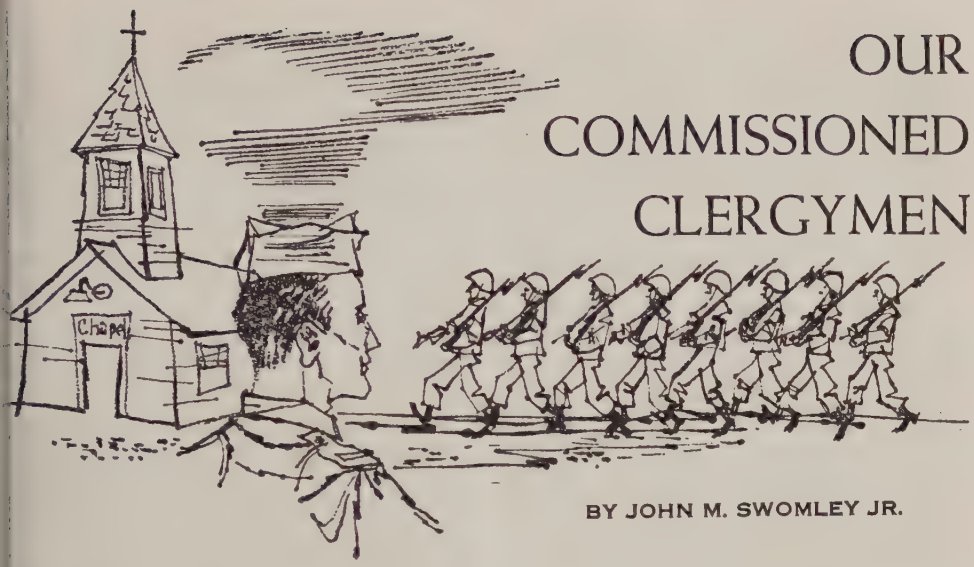
But what has been wrong with our efforts here has been wrong in many other places. It isn't a shortage of funds nor a shortage of dedication, but a shortage of insight. We hope somehow to improve the plight of the underprivileged *without disturbing the power of the overprivileged.* There is a failure to recognize that unless the backward *basic institutions* are destroyed, little progress can be made by the masses. The semi-feudal institutions fight with intense fury to protect and perpetuate themselves. They stand as barriers to progress, unwilling to permit an advance for the lower classes. And they succeed because the lower classes are too weak to alter their situation short of significant help from the outside, or bitter revolution. There lies our difficulty. In our commitment to a crude anti-communism we are loath to withdraw our support from wha seems like a "firm" anti-Communis bastion—the conservative upper classe We are fearful that in stirring up th people we will be making an "open ing to the left." We therefore ride wit the tide—towards an inevitable mae strom.

The Mounting Crisis

The tragedy of our policy is tha we do not see this, or that if we do w are either unwilling or powerless t change it. The tragedy is compounde by the fact that it is building up to a explosion which will discredit th United States further. A considerabl majority of the population are tire of it all, and want a change. Even moderate union leader, strongly ant Communist, told me that nothing wi improve until Arevalo (whose pro grams were subverted in the "new era" comes back. Schoolteachers insist tha there can be no real education unt there is a new government. The stu dents at the university, particularly i the humanities and economics, are ove whelming pro-Castro. Within the arm there are a few dozen young would-b Nassers, planning and plotting t overthrow the government and intro duce a measure of effectiveness into th regime. In November 1960 one of the groups staged an abortive uprising tha saw fifteen killed. It was put dow easily, but in the following month there were rumors of new threats fro the Young Turks in the army. Lik Nasser or Kassem they wait for the moment.

On the left are the Communists an *Fidelistas,* mostly in hiding, also wai ing for their moment. The popul base is there for them, ready to b channeled when the strategic mome arrives.

While the United States stands im mobile, the crisis mounts; and th strong winds blowing in from Hava whirl more fiercely each day.



OUR COMMISSIONED CLERGYMEN

BY JOHN M. SWOMLEY JR.

THE MILITARY CHAPLAINCY is a unique institution. Chaplains, as representatives of religious institutions, are not expected to take part in actual combat or be direct agents of death. This is a continuance of a long tradition which recognizes that the Christian vocation forbids killing. This tradition, which goes back to the pre-Constantinian church where all members of the church refused participation in war, was kept alive by the hierarchy of the Roman Catholic Church for its monks and priests. As late as 1940 when the Burke-Wadsworth conscription bill was pending in Congress, it was the strong and concerted action of the Roman hierarchy which led to deferment from military training and service of all priests and students for the ministry.

The chaplain is not only not expected to kill. He is not drafted but is induced to volunteer by the offer of officer status, higher pay than enlisted men receive and often through encouragement, pressure or assignment by church authorities. Some are led into the chaplaincy by their own inner concern to help boys who would otherwise be without religious counseling.

A study by a University of Kansas Sociologist, Waldo W. Burchard, which was made in 1952 included a brief analysis of the factors motivating chaplains when they entered military service. "Twenty-five percent were influenced primarily by patriotic motives, while only ten percent were influenced primarily by religious motives. Another twenty-five percent had not analyzed their motives beyond a 'desire to be of service.'" Burchard concluded on the basis of these replies to his questions "that, for those clergymen who join the military service, the claims of the state are likely to take precedence over the claims of religion at the outset."

Once a clergyman has become a chaplain he does not cease to have a church connection but he does have far less contact with and supervision from church authorities. His orders, rank and pay are military and his guidance is chiefly through the chaplaincy hierarchy in his branch of the Armed Forces. In this context one might speculate either on the practical and psychological implications for the chaplain if there should be a conflict in loyalty between church and the Army or on whether the wedding between religion and the military is so complete as to mute the sound of any conflict of conscience.

In writing any commentary on the chaplaincy it is possible to write in general of an institution only if we recognize that there are exceptions to every generalization and hence that not all chaplains would agree either with official (military) or other evaluations of their role.

The military chaplaincy is neither the

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most important nor the most vexing problem in church-state relations. It is, however, related directly to the most serious social problem confronting organized religion today. Briefly stated, this is the attitude of the church and the ministry to a state policy of preparation to wage nuclear war which could result in the destruction of civilization and the genetic distortion of the human race.

The national military establishment is the institution through which the state prepares for nuclear war. It is the institution through which the minds of young men are conditioned to support such war. And in the words of Professor Robert MacIver of Columbia University it is the institution which works "to indoctrinate the whole people in an ideology favorable to war making."[1] Recent testimony by Col. William Neblett described the Pentagon campaign begun in 1947 to convince the nation "that we were living in a state of undeclared emergency; that war with Russia was just around the corner; and that the safety of the nation was dependent upon the speedy"[2] buildup of the military establishment.

He added, "I know from my own knowledge of the men who worked up the fear campaign that they do not believe what they say. Their propaganda has always had the single objective to build a huge conscript professional military force—under the command of a professional General Staff."

The Chaplaincy and Army Morale

The chaplaincy is an integral part of this military program in at least three respects.

1. Chaplains move daily in the military atmosphere. Since they receive their pay, rank and orders from the military, wear the uniform of the military and have only infrequent association with their civilian church colleagues, many of them come to feel a very great loyalty to their branch of the Armed Forces. As a result the Armed Forces tend to think of them as agents for the military point of view. This was evident in the way the Army used the chaplains during the campaign to adopt Universal Military Training and build a huge conscript establishment. A report issued May 12, 1947 by Col. Patrick J. Ryan Acting Chief of Chaplains, stated:

> "Upon the advice of the Legislative and Liasion Division, the Office Chief of Chaplains sent representatives from each of the Army areas and the Air Defense Command to the Experimental Unit for UMT at Fort Knox, Kentucky 26-28 April, 1947. The purpose of this meeting was to orientate the chaplains on the aims of UMT *so that they may be properly prepared to represent the program to ministerial and denominational conventions as they take place in the United States this year.*" (emphasis added)

The UMT campaign was not an exception. The September 1952 Army Information Digest points out that the "chaplain's activities are centered in six main fields." The first field listed is "public relations."

2. Chaplains also build morale in the armed forces by giving religious sanction to military attitudes and practices. The chaplain is often used by the Army to teach military citizenship, including the values of unquestioning obedience to orders.

A chaplain writing in an April 19, 1941 Fort Knox camp newspaper said to a group of new recruits: "You have learned a lot of things. Of these, undoubtedly the biggest is that you have learned to obey. An officer will bark a command, and you, as mechanically and as promptly as any robot will execute it." The chaplain continued: "You call it 'discipline' and have named it well. You learned the lessons quickly and thoroughly because of environment and esprit de corps—order, discipline, regularity and routine is the very atmosphere of Army life. It gets into your blood." He concluded his discussion with the sentence: "If you are to be a Christian man, you must be superbly controlled and rigidly disciplined."

This writer listened to a chaplain, Major Hundley, deliver a citizenship lecture to men at Fort Knox in April 1947. Toward the end of the lecture he began to discuss worship and its meaning. He illustrated the meaning of worship in the following way: In a military manner he called a boy by last name, "Stand up [Jones]. Tell us what we do when a one-star general comes to camp." The trainee replies, "Well, sir, we put on a parade for him." Another boy was told to stand up and asked what the

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1 MacIver, *The Web of Government*, p. 372.
2 Col. Wm. Neblett, *Pentagon Politics*, p. 44, 46.

amp would do if General Eisenhower ame. The boy said, "Well, sir, we would how him our real esteem." The chaplain hen indicated that it wasn't because his ame is Eisenhower but "because he has ve stars and a circle on his shoulder." He hen proceeded to say "That is what we nean by worthship, or worship." Without urther qualification he carried this theme ver into a discussion of the worship of God in church.

3. The chaplaincy seems to soften the mpact of military harshness, brutality and mmorality, which parents and churchmen ear will unduly affect the youth from their wn families and churches. The fact that a epresentative of the church is present in he Army seems to be reassuring. It thus ecomes a cloak of respectability for a military system which prepares boys for participation in hand to hand combat as well as mass extermination of any enemy he is ordered to bomb. It also fosters the growth of militarism. An Army chaplain was quoted in the April 16, 1947 New York Post as saying of military training, "I know of no similar situation where so much can be done spiritually in so short a time for our youth."

Religious Handmaiden to War

In actuality, military life during World War II did not produce an interest in religion, as Dr. Daniel A. Poling, Dr. Bernard Iddings Bill and an unnamed Jesuit chaplain all reported after work with the armed forces.[3] The Jesuit chaplain "Expressed deep concern about the effect of the hatreds released in the course of combat experience. Like others, he considered that the church would find it extremely hard to reach the ears of men conditioned by a war of extermination."[4]

Willard Waller, a sociologist at Columbia University, in his classic study of the veteran indicated that "Army life has rendered a tenth of our population 'overwhelmingly indifferent to religion.'"[5]

A survey sponsored by the Army revealed that "most men were not as likely to go to their chaplain with a personal problem as to their own commanding officer. For example, among 751 soldiers with over one year of service, only half of the men said they had ever consulted an officer about a personal problem, 33 percent mentioning their commanding officer and 13 percent mentioning the chaplain as the one to whom they went, with scattered mentions of other officers. Catholics were a little more likely to mention the chaplain—17 percent as against 11 percent for Protestants."[6]

The same study referred to a "basic cleavage between officers and enlisted men."[7] This may be significant in view of the officer status of chaplains.

In addition to the problems raised by the chaplaincy as a religious hand-maiden to war, other questions might be raised.

1. There is the problem of religious freedom. Is the chaplain technically free in his ministry in the armed forces to preach critically about the military system, to preach the full gospel including love for enemies, to raise questions about killing other human beings? If technically free is he in a situation conducive to such an exercise of his freedom? Would the Army permit a vocal critic of military practices to serve as a chaplain, disrupting military traditions and injuring morale?

2. There is the problem of special privilege. What are the implications of the officer status of chaplains? What does a buck private feel, or mutter under his breath, when he has to salute a chaplain as an officer, especially if the chaplain goes after him on point of discipline? Having always to salute the chaplain does not win friends for the church.

3. There is the problem of government subsidy. Can the armed forces indefinitely

3 Willard Waller, *Veteran Comes Back*, p. 68, 69.
4 idem.
5 idem.
6 *The American Soldier, Adjustment During Army Life*, Vol. 1, p. 400.
7 ibid., p. 401.

provide chapels, churches, religious education programs, salaries for chaplains, etc. without: (1) providing a future pattern for government subsidy of religion such as some churches have accepted or advocated in other countries? Is this pattern of government subsidy and employment in the field of medicine which exists in the military and veterans administration not becoming a major factor in the silent and growing popular acceptance of some form of socialized medicine? Regardless of our position on socialized medicine, is such government support for religious enterprises something to be opposed? Is so, should it be sooner, or later after this process continues for years? (2) entering the field of educating personnel for the chaplaincy to a greater degree than it does today (after a minister has entered the armed forces)?

4. There is the problem of militarizing the church. Do chaplains in the armed forces today have other duties than the simple exercise of their Christian ministry? Can chaplains serve the Army without sharing in some of its military functions and purpose? As indicated earlier, the armed forces do expect chaplains to serve Army purposes and expect them to function in the church as interpreters of the Army point of view. In a society where many in the civilian church interpret work for peace differently from those in the armed forces whose emphasis is "Air Power is peace power" or peace through a large military establishment, is it not inevitable that chaplains will be encouraged to win the church for the military approach? Whether or not they have a chance of success is not so crucial as is the building up of a group in the church with a vested interest in military values.

"Armed Forces" Religion

5. The following excerpts from the January 31, 1957 New York Times point up still another problem:

> "Lutheran leaders were warned today against what was described as a tendency within the armed forces to develop a 'military church.'
>
> "The warning was voiced by the Rev. Dr. Engebret O. Midboe, head of the Bureau of Service to Military Personnel of the National Lutheran Council.
>
> "Dr. Midboe took particular exception to what is known in the armed forces as the 'general Protestant devotional service.' This, he charged, has little if any connection with the doctrine of the civilian denomination with which the chaplain may be affiliated.
>
> "In some instances, he noted, 'one would not dare deviate from what has already been set down for fear that there would be administrative consequences.'
>
> "Dr. Midboe told the council that a newly arrived chaplain finds himself confronted with a hymnal published jointly by the three services. At the same time, the Lutheran official declared, it has 'almost become a law' that chaplains make use of the Component List of Religious Facilities prepared by a committee of the Joint Chaplain Board.
>
> "Some chaplains, Dr. Midboe noted, are faced by command criticism on the content of their sermons.
>
> "'In a day in which churches have been singing their Te Deums to God for his holy spirit's moving in the hearts of men to bring about a desire for church unity,' Dr. Midboe commented, 'there is at the same time taking place a separation between the service church and the civilian denomination.
>
> "'It is not suggested that anyone is maliciously encouraging this schism. It is rather a general driftaway from the denominational moorings into a type of religious community which seems to operate with the least tension in the military services.'"

Few would deny the values of voluntary ecumenicity such as illustrated in non-denominational hymn books used by such groups as the Student Christian Movement or in actual church union. The problem Dr. Midboe raised is not only whether Caesar should unify the church but whether it should be done on Caesar's terms and for his reasons.

Church vs. Army Social Life

6. There is also the problem of other pressures. One chaplain in the October 1948 Infantry Journal wrote as follows:

> "In most cases the Chaplain is having to walk an embarrassingly thin line. Like anyone else he prefers to be liked, and being quartered with the officers, it is not only expedient but good policy to stay on good terms with them, regardless of whatever wide disagreement there may be as to language, morals and general conduct. Yet the good fellow, the congenial gentleman, the 'broad-minded' and easy-going Chaplain and the one with a good case of religion should have been born twins. My experience was that the better you got along with the officers, the fewer you got to church."

"With the coming of peace and the gradual resurgence of the social side of Army life, this problem has become even more acute. In both stateside posts and the overseas occupation areas, more and more social functions have become a necessity. Parties, dances and other get-togethers at the officers' clubs often appear to be the only answer to alleviate the boredom of camp life or occupation duties.

"No more will be said about it, but the truth of the matter is that most Chaplains and their families have a hard time fitting into the social setup of the Army because most of us do not drink. If we do we are talked about and eventually our religious services dry up, our men lose faith in us, and in general we lose our usefulness in the unit."

This is only symptomatic of other pressures but it raises the question: Can a chaplain effectively serve two masters as different as the Army and the Church?

The Chaplain is not simply a camp pastor. He is an officer and as such is fundamentally in agreement with the military purpose and program. As Chaplain Karl A. Olson once put it "he is a 'field' and not a 'garrison' soldier, that is he shares solidly and thoroughly in the program of training, in physical tests, in problems, maneuvers, and combat preparation."[8]

Two masters, Christ and Caesar, each asking total loyalty, pose serious problems to the chaplain: There are, for example, conflicts over the meaning of love and the values of human life when engaged in a business which might require the destruction of many if not all of the civil population of a great city or a whole nation. Burchard in his study of "Role Conflicts of Military Chaplains" suggests that chaplains tend to reconcile these conflicts "either through rationalization or through compartmentalization of role behaviors." This rationalization "tends to strengthen the chaplain's role of military officer at the expense of his role of minister of the Gospel. . . ."

In any discussion of the chaplaincy it is well to ask what are its values from the standpoint of the church. Presumably the church is not eager to serve as an auxiliary to the war system. Its chief interest is or should be a ministry to men in or out of the armed forces. The rationale for the chaplaincy is then simply that it is the most convenient way for the church to minister to those in the military context.

Why Not a Civilian Alternative?

Other questions, however, need to be raised. Can the church minister to those in the armed forces without becoming a part of the military system itself? Ernest Fremont Tittle proposed again and again that the church provide a civilian chaplaincy to those in military life. Such chaplains would receive their pay, instructions, and rank from the church and would wear the garb of the church rather than the uniform of the Army. They would thus be free to minister to "enemy" nationals as well as their own on a supra-national basis which chaplains in military uniform are in effect prevented from doing. And they would be as free from church-state involvement as civilian ministers in the vicinity of Army posts are today.

The General Conference of the Methodist Church in 1940 asked the Federal Council of Churches "to seek a method by which the spiritual ministry of the churches to the armed forces of the United States may be performed by ministers appointed and supported by, and amenable to, the church."

The Federal Council of Churches had also asked a study of this issue in the years prior to World War II. Their "Commission on the Study of the Chaplaincy" reported in 1938 that it could not propose a plan for chaplains to be "put upon a wholly civilian basis and be supported directly by the churches" because some "important denominations are not prepared to join in (such) a request. . . ."

The proposal for a civilian ministry did not founder because it is impossible to provide such a ministry to military person-

8 Karl A. Olson, "Mission of the Church" in *Christianity and Crisis*, October 4, 1943.

nel and their families. That is being done all the time by ministers whose churches are in the vicinity of military or naval bases. In fact many enlisted men prefer a civilian church free from military overtones. They prefer to counsel with a minister of their choice rather than one assigned by the Army to their unit.

If the church were to provide such an expanded ministry it would have to recognize that the bulk of all military personnel (over 80%) are non-combat and are either in this country or in allied nations overseas. It would have to rely on military personnel and their families paying for part or all of their "local church" expenses in areas overseas where thousands of them are stationed. There would, of course, be church-state relations but of a different sort. For example, would civilian Protestant ministers be allowed in Spain for a ministry not confined to military posts?

The military nature of the armed forces is changing in the space age. There are many changes, such as a higher level of education in the armed forces as the need grows for technicians to man complex weapons. There is the ease of air, radio and TV communication. This is not the place to spell out all of these changes. We should, however, be aware of them and of their possible assistance to us in solving the problems posed by the military chaplaincy.

The problem has also changed as a result of what some overseas nationals as well as some American political scientists have come to regard as a new imperialism. There are more than 950 American military installations in other countries around the world. In some such as Libya, the direct and indirect expenditures of the U. S. armed forces and related American personnel are the major factor in maintaining the health and stability of their economies.

Whole families are being transplanted within this country and to other countries where there is this new type of imperialism and rotating colonization by our troops and their families. Is the American church to be thought of by people overseas as an arm or adjunct of this military process? Are we to turn over to the military chaplaincy for their church life these hundreds of civilian communities because a proportion of the men involved are associated with the armed forces? Some Methodist chaplains overseas have congregations in excess of 1,000. Some have Sunday School enrollments in excess of 500. Many of these persons are transients but so is the chaplain. What is the best way to deal with this problem?

The Chaplaincy and Nuclear War

In the final analysis there is probably no solution to the problems posed by the military chaplaincy unless and until the church makes up its mind where it stands on the problem of nuclear war. An increasing number of non-pacifists who are not likely to reject all violence are now beginning to raise new questions about the church and war, thus reopening the discussion.

The church can take any one of three positions:

(1) It can back and encourage preparations for nuclear as well as conventional war. In this event it will probably continue to endorse a military chaplaincy on approximately the same basis as today because the purpose of the chaplaincy is basically one of religious assistance to the armed forces as well as to the men in uniform.

(2) It can take a silent or neutral position on nuclear war.

(3) It can oppose nuclear or conventional war or both.

In the event of (2) or (3) the church is more likely to re-examine its position and practice with respect to the chaplaincy. In this re-examination if it takes place some attention should be given to (a) how the Roman Catholic Church and others ministered to men in the Army (—and to their families) during the pre-conscription era in

(Continued on Page 34)

PEACE INFORMATION EDITION →

The following four pages (on tinted paper at right) comprise the Peace Information Edition of **Fellowship**, published on the 1st and 15th of every month. Subscribers receive three issues of this Edition separately between issues of the 36-page bimonthly edition.

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THE BERLIN CRISIS

CAN WAR BE AVERTED?

a letter to readers from John M. Swomley Jr.,
Foreign Affairs Consultant of the Fellowship of Reconciliation

Dear Friends:

You have seen in your daily papers how serious the crisis over Berlin has become. It is liable to become even more serious in the weeks ahead since neither side wants to back down.

More than 30 months ago Khrushchev announced his intention to sign a separate peace treaty with East Germany. He has postponed the signing in order for negotiations with the West to take place. Neither the United States nor West Germany has come up with a new or reasonable negotiating position during this time.

Khrushchev wants the West to acknowledge legally the existence of East Germany and the validity of the post-war German-Russian-Polish boundaries worked out by Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin. He fears an already heavily armed West Germany may precipitate a war to regain former German territory. The U.S. on the other hand, wants to keep Central and Eastern Europe unstable as a part of the cold war. West Berlin is a problem to the Russians because it is a center for Western espionage, a symbol of a higher standard of living and freedom from Communist controls, and until recently, a means of escape from East Germany where professional and other workers are sorely needed. The U.S. wants to retain this symbol and this center for espionage and escape in the heart of Communist territory.

Khrushchev has indicated a willingness to negotiate western access to Berlin, to have Western garrisons in Berlin or to make West Berlin a free city under U.N. control. But he wants the U.S. to negotiate with East Germany and hence acknowledge legally its existence.

The U.S. has one legitimate fear - that the East Germans will try to stop Western access to West Berlin. But we make the mistake of believing that the Berlin problem can be solved apart from the German problem. There is every reason why the U.S. should in the interests of peace seek some stabilization of the situation in Central Europe in return for an agreement from East Germany for continued Western access to West Berlin. We are not limited to any one formula for dealing with Berlin. The issue Russia poses is one of our recognizing her interests in Eastern Europe if we want her to continue to recognize ours in Berlin.

There is no prospect of East Germany or former German territory in Poland and Russia being regained by West Germany without war, unless all of Germany becomes a neutral by a treaty similar to the one the U.S. and U.S.S.R. signed over Austria. Since neither West Germany nor the U.S. is prepared to have such

(continued on the next page)

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ALFRED HASSLER, Editor

WILLIAM ROBERT MILLER, Managing Editor

PAUL PEABODY, Editorial Assistant

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Swomley letter *(cont'd)*

neutralization take place and since Russia is unwilling to have East Germany, by free elections or otherwise, join the Western military alliance, NATO, it is imperative that negotiations begin and war threats be stopped.

The sealing of the border between East and West Berlin is apparently not intended to create a war crisis and was not unexpected in Washington. No nation can afford to have its ablest professional men and skilled workers leave at the rate refugees have left East Germany. It is even possible that an effective sealing of the border may from Russia's point of view ease the problem she faces in East Germany and hence ease the crisis. But if there are serious economic reprisals from the West or uprisings in the East these could lead to a graver crisis.

Obviously Khrushchev has made serious mistakes in East Germany as have our leaders in rearming West Germany. Negotiations are essential to prevent these mistakes being compounded into war. But honest negotiation is not likely under threat of war. The United States must stop its war talk and recognize that progress toward total disarmament is indispensable.

If you share our concern that we are in a serious situation, that steps toward war are now being taken that may in time result in widespread nuclear destruction, act now. Here are five suggestions:

1) Discuss this crisis with your friends and neighbors or in your church or Sunday school group. Help them see the problem in perspective. A complete analysis is available from FOR national headquarters, Box 271, Nyack, N.Y. (send 8¢ postage). Also helpful will be an article in *The Nation* for July 29, 1961, entitled "NATO Joins the Wehrmacht" by Heinz Pol, which your local library should have.

2) Write President Kennedy, The White House, Washington, D. C. Tell him you do not approve of his apparent plans to take us into war over Berlin. Ask him instead to begin negotiations which will recognize Russian and East German interests as well as our own. Remind him that war over Berlin will destroy the people of Berlin whom we want to save.

3) Write your own two Senators and one or more of the following Senators: W. J. Fulbright, Wayne Morse, Hubert Humphrey, Mike Mansfield, Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.

4) If your time is limited and can write only one letter, send it to J.W. Fulbright, Chairman Senate Foreign Relations Co., Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C., with a carbon to the White House c/o Lawrence O'Brien, and a third copy to Adlai Stevenson, 779 UN Plaza, New York 17, N.Y.

5) Write a letter to the editor of your daily paper, your church paper or magazine and other periodicals.

In each of the above instances, briefly put the problem in perspective and always insist that no nation has the right to endanger the world with another war. Urge that the UN General Assembly be consulted at the very least.

Finally, let me exhort you to take seriously your responsibility as a citizen even if you think the power elite is already intent on war. If you remain silent you acquiesce in the planning for nuclear war. It may in some places take courage to buck the manipulation of public opinion. But I earnestly believe God wills peace and will open channels for your own concern if you pray for it daily. Faithfully yours,

John M Swomley Jr.

INTERNATIONAL F.O.R. APPROVES STATEMENT ON BERLIN CRISIS

The Council of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation, with representatives from 23 countries, meeting at Le Chambon-sur-Lignon in France, August 9-14, views with the gravest concern the mounting tension over Berlin. The hardening attitude on both sides, expressed in belligerent statements and actions, threatens to resolve the Berlin problem by destroying that city along with much of the rest of Europe and America. Such attitudes, however intended to provide a realistic basis for ultimate settlement, in fact produce an atmosphere of increasing tension in which peaceful solutions become more and more unlikely.

Both sides are endangering the peace of the world in defense of not only their political existence, but also of their divergent conceptions of the most beneficial form of social organization for all mankind.

The Berlin crisis is not really a crisis of Berlin, but a further manifestation of the plight of a world victimized by the struggle between two groups of nations, each afraid of the other and led by its fear into the very acts and attitudes likely to lead to the catastrophe it dreads. A peaceful solution of the Berlin impasse can be readily found in the direction of moves intended to reduce the tension between the two blocs.

Under the circumstances of our times, for example, no solution of Berlin or Germany itself will be acceptable that serves in any way to strengthen the position of either group of powers vis-a-vis the other. Given the will to find a peaceful solution, however, there are promising directions in which negotiations might proceed. Some of these are:

(1) Either the inclusion of all of Berlin in an internationally guaranteed and supervised free city, or the agreement to maintain the present sectors, East and West, under their present political and military authorities until the whole city of Berlin can take its proper place in a neutralized confederation of German states;

(2) The early recognition by the Western powers of the German Democratic Republic and of the Oder-Neisse line as Germany's eastern frontier;

(3) The simultaneous withdrawal of the German Federal Republic from NATO and the German Democratic Republic from the Warsaw Pact;

(4) The disarmament of the two Germanies by phases, beginning with their joint renunciation of all nuclear arms and other weapons of mass destruction;

(5) The opening of negotiations between the three Western allies, the USSR, the Scandinavian governments, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and the two Germanies, with the aim of creating without delay a denuclearized belt in the center of Europe, and in the following phase, a completely demilitarized European heartland;

(6) The preparation of a German Confederation through direct negotiations between the two disarming German republics; the further negotiation between the German Confederation and the Berlin authorities of the role of that city within the Confederation;

(7) The establishment of a treaty of peace between the German Confederation and the states that were at war with the National Socialist Reich;

(8) The commitment of all states engaged in the foregoing series of negotiations to work simultaneously for effective, world-wide disarmament, beginning with nuclear weapons and their testing.

Humanity cannot tolerate the continued perilous adventure of recourse to military means in such East-West struggles as that now centered in Berlin. No difficulties in reducing international tension can be great enough to justify the risk of war that would surely become nuclear war. Human beings were not put upon the earth to be the helpless creatures of any powers, but

(Continued on next page)

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to enjoy together in harmony the fruits of God's creation.

We call on our members throughout the world, and on all men of good will everywhere, to use every means at their disposal to register with the appropriate leaders on both sides their insistence on an end to military actions and threats, and to a genuine persistent, indefatigable utilization of every possible resource of negotiation and conciliation in the search for a peaceful solution.

'Stand-Ins" to Counter Voting Bias in South

A "stand-in" campaign to protest discrimination at registration points in the South will begin soon, according to a statement made by FOR member Martin Luther King Jr., in Miami Beach, Fla., last month. Addressing a convention of the Luther League of the American Lutheran Church, King stated that the goal will be to double in the next two years the 1,300,000 Southern Negroes now registered to vote. "In the not-too-distant future," the integration leader remarked, "there will be thousands of Negroes standing at places where they have been denied the right to register."

Meanwhile, in Chicago, over 300 religious, industrial and civic leaders issued a statement last month calling on all local citizens to accept responsibility for the city's "shameful record of racial violence" and to set about creating a better atmosphere. The message, which appeared in the *Chicago Daily News* and the *Chicago Tribune*, affirmed the right of all American citizens to "full employment of all public facilities and prerogatives."

East German officials forced back members of the American-European march over 100 miles from the outskirts of Berlin last month, following the team's refusal to accept an East German mandate that they bypass the city. The group, which is seeking to spread the message of unilateral disarmament, hopes to arrive in Red Square, Moscow, by Nov. 1.

* * *

FOR member Martin Niemoller was reported in "satisfactory condition" last month following an automobile accident which took the life of his wife and housekeeper. The pacifist clergyman, president of the Evangelical Church in Hesse-Nassau, Germany, had been driving from his home in Wiesbaden for a vacation in Denmark, when the car he was driving went out of control and crashed into a tree.

DATES TO REMEMBER

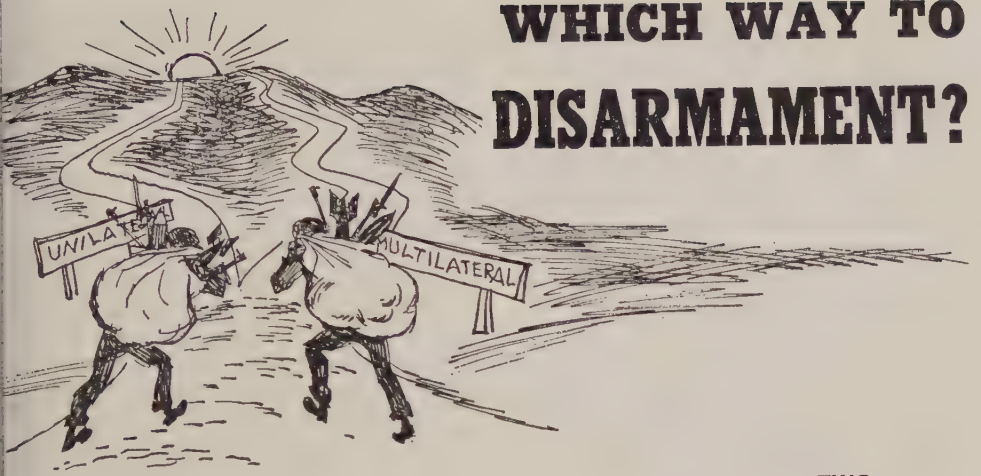
Sept 9. Bucks County World Peace Fair at 920 Trenton Rd., Fairless Hills, Pa. Noon to 10 p.m. For information call: ME 9-0429 in Trevose, Pa.

A Top-Priority Peace Project

". . .A primary action project of the FOR should be recruitment of FOR members. This rests on the premise that the commitment on the Statement of Purpose is the most important single act for peace and the foundation of others, most of them not in institutional channels. Another premise - Recruitment is not a matter of persuasion but of discovery and invitation. If the force of history and the grace of God can't win a man to pacifism, how can we? But by search, we may discover those prepared to entertain the FOR message. The search should involve every member, and its encouragement should be the top priority project of every FOR group. It is a project, incidentally, that no one else will undertake. For this project, and perhaps for no other, the narrowing effect of our extensive commitment is an advantage. And out of success in this project increased strength for political, direct action, and so forth, projects flow."

--Alfred Ames, FOR Midwest Regional Chairman

WHICH WAY TO DISARMAMENT?



BY DAVID ANDREWS

THE MOST DECISIVE political issue now facing mankind is: *which way to disarmament?* We will face and solve this issue —soon—or civilization will go down to destruction.

Disarmament—how to achieve it? Be sure of this: no nation will disarm without an alternative form of security. If nations do not rely for national safety on military might, they must have something else—equally specific and reassuring—to rely on. No nation will disarm in a vacuum; it is psychologically and politically impossible. The nations may dread the Bomb, they may hate war with passion; but they will refuse to disarm and will die fighting unless they can find a satisfactory substitute form of defense and conflict-resolution. There are only two:

A. Coherent, rational plans for general multilateral disarmament involve such elements as the following:

1. General disarmament by stages, with inspection and verification.

2. An international disarmament authority with limited but definite executive and enforcement powers.

3. A definite but limited degree of constitutional world law.

4. World courts with effective powers of jurisdiction.

5. Limited but definite world police and military forces designed and controlled to protect the sovereignty and survival of all nations while preventing aggression by any.

6. The world agency would be federal in structure—reserving to the member nations all powers not specifically delegated to the world agency. At the start it would probably be limited primarily to the supervision of controlled world disarmament.

7. Gradual and full conversion of the economies of member states to peacetime production.

8. Devotion of substantial portions of former military funds to needed humanitarian programs throughout the world.

There are many other important aspects and issues involved in multilateral disarmament and world law, but this is the essence.

B. Coherent, rational plans for unilateral disarmament involve such elements as these:

1. The decision by a nation that it is either immoral or impractical, or both, to continue reliance for national security on the capacity to destroy others.

2. The willingness of a nation to begin the process of disarmament regardless of the cooperation or actions of other nations.

3. Voluntary recruitment and thorough training of a national nonviolent resistance corps to offer active but nonviolent opposition to any effort by an outside power to occupy the disarming nation.

4. Intensive education of the general public in the spirit and techniques of disciplined nonviolent resistance.

5. Announcement by the nation of its intention to disarm, with an invitation to other powers to observe and verify its disarmament.

6. A declaration of good will toward all nations and efforts to persuade other nations, despite previous mutual hostility, to respect the territorial and institutional integrity of the nation disarming.

7. Appeal to neutral nations for moral, political, and economic assistance in discouraging occupation of the disarming nation by any outside power.

8. Continuing nonviolent opposition to any occupation which might occur, with the conviction that the soldiers and leaders of outside powers could in time be persuaded that occupation was both wrong and unnecessary.

9. Gradual and full conversion of the national economy to peacetime production.

10. Devotion of substantial portions of former military funds to needed economic and humanitarian programs at home and abroad.

11. Continuing efforts to persuade all nations to renounce war and to disarm also, either unilaterally or by mutual agreement.

Problems of Multilateralism

There are serious problems involved in efforts to achieve multilateral or universal disarmament by mutual agreement, such as:

1. Negotiations are likely to fail if nations insist on trying to achieve military parity—by which they usually mean superiority—before they will agree on controlled disarmament. Nations postpone negotiation, or offer clearly unacceptable proposals, because they want to bargain from a "position of strength." Meanwhile, the arms race goes on. And each nation, when it achieves parity or superiority, tempts the other side to block agreement while it tries to recoup *its* lost advantage. This is our present world predicament, which the President apparently feels it necessary to perpetuate—while we try to close the missile gap.

2. Negotiations are likely to fail if nations are genuinely committed to full general disarmament—"down to rifles"—down to levels needed for internal police purposes only. Negotiations tend to become moves to get "arms control", not genuine disarmament; or they become deadlocked (deliberately or otherwise) over disagreement on details of inspection, timing, etc.

3. Nations fear cheating or a sneak attack under cover of disarmament negotiations. Sometimes this fear is exaggerated or pretended, as a means of blocking agreement for other reasons. But the fear may also be real—because a sneak attack is a theoretical possibility, because of past suspicions, or because the fearful nation itself harbors the temptation to cheat.

4. Nations begrudge the limitations on national sovereignty involved in international supervision of disarmament. They may oppose world controls for selfish reasons, because they fear the loss of national power or privilege—from colonial holdings or satellite nations to traffic in female slaves—or because they are honestly concerned about the possibility of domination by a world super-state.

Difficulties in Unilateralism

The barriers to multilateral disarmament by agreement are therefore very real. They are not, however, inherently insuperable. Nor, as we shall see, is the multilateral approach lacking in important advantages. Before considering them, however, let us look at the basic difficulties involved in unilateral disarmament.

1. Many people oppose unilateral disarmament because they are afraid that Russia and others would destroy us or communize us by force. Such fears, especially the latter, are not entirely without foundation. And there are equivalent fears, in Russia and China, of us.

2. Many people, when trying to visualize unilateral disarmament, have a more vivid conception of personal injury while resisting an occupying army nonviolently than they have of the mass slaughter of nuclear war. Everyone has known injury, anger, conflict. None of us has been atomized; it seems unreal. And such films as "On the Beach," which depict an antiseptic atomic or pharmaceutical demise in private, give us no help in imagining the ghastly and horrifying carnage of nuclear war.

3. Most people in our all-too-materialistic society seem to lack the insight and

inner resources of spirit to take the very real "leap of faith" involved in unilateral disarmament and nonviolent resistance. This is not to say that it is necessary for everyone in a nation to believe in unilateral disarmament to make it work. A dedicated minority, with the consent of the majority, could be sufficient. Nor is it impossible that a creative transformation of national spirit could take place in a situation of extreme world danger. No one can set arbitrary limits on the vitality of the human spirit under duress. But, as yet, the dedicated minority is insufficient, and the needed transformation has not appeared.

4. Unilateral disarmament does not immediately provide an alternative to the world anarchy we face today. It does not *directly* provide a framework of international legal institutions for the permanent handling of world problems and conflicts. Although disarmament by one nation could lead by example to universal disarmament and the eventual establishment of a system of world law and order, the establishment of such a system is not an inherent part of unilateral disarmament in its initial stages.

Unilateralism Has Real Merits

Because of the foregoing factors, most people reject unilateral disamament as being either "radical" or "utopian," without giving it enough serious consideration to see its real merits. This is unfortunate, and ought not to continue among thoughtful people.

The list of difficulties facing either unilateral or multilateral disarmament is formidable. The difficulties are far outweighed, however, by the mortal dangers of the atomic arms race and the impending nuclear-chemical-biological catastrophe.

And counterbalancing the difficulties of the two approaches to disarmament are the definite advantages of each. Consider, first, the advantages of unilateral disarmament:

1. Creative action by one nation does not depend on agreement by the other side. Unilateral action effectively cuts the Gordian Knot of mutual suspicion and unending delay.

2. Unilateral action, similarly, avoids the usual deadlocks over technical details of monitoring systems, sequence of stages, enforcement, etc.

3. Unilateral action thus provides a way of achieving disarmament even after the arms race has rendered negotiated disarmament technically "impossible." If, for instance, the Nth Country problem should get out of hand and a host of nations should acquire the means of mass destruction, unilateral disarmament would still offer a way of avoiding an atomic Armageddon. Such an alternative may seem tamely hypothetical now, but only a few years hence it may be the life-or-death choice facing virtually every leader and citizen on earth.

4. Unilateral disarmament calls persons and nations to high moral and political aspiration and adventure. It drives directly to a core problem of human life and society. Shall we rely for our survival on our capacity to destroy others? Multilateral disarmament deals effectively with the same issue, but unilateral action with nonviolent resistance faces it in a more daring manner and on an even deeper spiritual level. The philosophy of unilateral disarmament challenges the spirit of man to a courageous repudiation of most of our current practices of physical coercion and social violence, and affirms a way of life which is in harmony with the world's highest religious and ethical ideals.

Merits of Negotiation & Control

The advantages of disarmament by international negotiation and control are more familiar, and include the following:

1. Negotiated disarmament is not as demanding as unilateral disarmament in terms of individual danger, moral courage, and willingness to suffer bodily injury, persecution, or jail. Multilateral disarmament will demand definite changes in attitudes and policies, but the demands on the individual citizen are not as severe.

2. By being more conservative, negotiated disarmament is more likely to be accepted politically. While it is true that multilateral disarmament will require definite economic and political changes—from limitations on national sovereignty to demilitarization of the economy—it may well be easier to persuade people to transfer national defense functions to an international agency than to entrust them to a Gandhian nonviolent army.

3. Similarly, negotiated disarmament is more compatible with familiar processes of law and government. The establishment of law in the realm of peace among nations is basically only an extension of the very same methods of social control and conflict-resolution now used in the legislative, executive, and judicial processes of various levels of government within nations. Admittedly, the rule of law is usually cumbersome and often unjust; but no nation on earth has found itself able to maintain civilized life without it. If national societies have not been able to operate without law, how can world society—composed of the same people, problems, and pressures—survive without it?

4. Negotiated disarmament, if successful, would involve the disarmament of many (presumably *all*) nations, not just one. The ultimate goal of all disarmament advocates — universal disarmament — is achieved more directly through the multilateral approach.

5. Similarly, multilateral disarmament could lead by direct and natural stages to a workable system of limited (and federal) world government which would provide institutions for continuing international co-operation and joint solution of world problems.

Educative Value of Unilateralism

Many advocates of the unilateral approach point out that the public advocacy of unilateral disarmament can have a highly desirable educational and political effect even though unilateral disarmament is never adopted as national policy. The reasoning is that public understanding of the unilateral position can contribute to the achievement of multilateral disarmament, in several important ways:

1. Leaders and citizenry who can even conceive the possibility of unilaterally laying aside reliance on H-bombs will be better able to see that negotiated, controlled disarmament is the conservative *minimum* position which every rational person should hold. Multilateral disarmament, by comparison with unilateral, no longer seems a radical step but a commonsense political necessity. By shifting the scale of the conceivable farther to the left, so to speak, the multilateral position comes to occupy the territory of the obviously acceptable.

2. Similarly, the incisiveness and superb daring of the unilateral approach starkly reveals the haggling, foot-dragging, mutually-suspicious wrangling of current disarmament negotiations for what it is—either unnecessarily perfectionist anxiety about conceivable but unlikely violations *or* inexcusable attempts to postpone or reject agreements that are clearly essential to national and human survival.

3. The advocacy of full unilateral disarmament can help to persuade reluctant leaders to take imaginative unilateral steps and initiatives toward multilateral disarmament, thus helping to resolve the stubborn barriers that now block negotiated agreement.

One Policy At a Time

The reasoning of unilateral advocates on this point is correct and highly valuable. A counterbalancing point needs, however, to be remembered. If disarmament is to be achieved in actual fact, the nation must adopt as firm policy and seek vigorously to achieve in reality either one approach to disarmament or the other, at any one time. A person or nation may hold that both approaches are workable and acceptable, but it can actually implement only one of them at a time. A nation could decide to engage in first one form and then the other—unilateral and, later, multilateral—but it cannot do both at once. We must go beyond what is conceivable, or even what may in a few years be our only remaining alternative, to a clear decision about our disarmament policy as of *now*. Our policy *could* be either; which *is* it?

In view of all the foregoing, we can reach the important conclusion that all thoughtful people throughout the world—those who are concerned about human welfare and survival—ought positively to

support full exploration of both approaches to disarmament, multilateral and unilateral. This conclusion, by way of brief summary, is supported by the following points:

1. The advocates of both approaches have a common objective—universal disarmament and the abolition of war.

2. Each approach has the intellectual and moral support of men and women who are among the keenest minds and noblest spirits in the world today.

3. There are already many people—including pacifists who are also world federalists—who simultaneously accept the validity of both approaches. (I, for example, would be perfectly willing to see this nation, with proper preparation, disarm unilaterally. I also believe that negotiated disarmament is entirely feasible and that if this nation disarms in actual fact it will probably be done multilaterally.)

4. The increase and spread of "megadeath" weapons to other countries, and/or the failure of negotiations for technical or other reasons, may render the multilateral approach unworkable, in which case unilateral disarmament will be the only remaining alternative to nuclear disaster.

5. Support of the validity of both approaches to disarmament by *bona fide* peace movements throughout the world can broaden the support and increase the effectiveness of efforts to abolish war. Members of the peace movement in this country would support exploration of both approaches, therefore, even though the citizen and the nation will give one or the other of them priority in terms of which is considered most feasible and which should be our governmental policy at a given time.

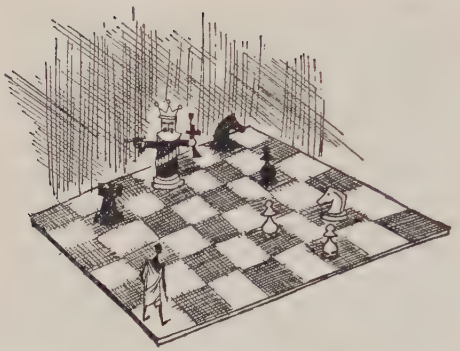
If, without excluding their own full positions, the advocates of each approach will support the other, the following practical steps will be in order:

1. Pacifists and other advocates of unilateral disarmament should rethink and rewrite their analysis and literature (including handbills) to relate their position more positively to the multilateral, supporting the validity of both. The present tendency of some direct-action pacifists to adopt an anti-government, anti-law position is highly unfortunate. There is room in America for the convinced nonviolent anarchist; but that position ought never to be adopted for purely emotional reasons, as a form of rebellion against authority, or as a substitute for careful analytical thought about the requirements for social order and peace. Such persons should remember, for what it is worth, that the world's greatest practitioner of nonviolent resistance, Gandhi, was himself a lawyer in training and practice. It was he who said that the nonviolent resister should cooperate when arrested and should enter jail as a bridegroom enters the marriage chamber—gladly.

2. Non-pacifists and other advocates of multilateral disarmament should welcome and give moral support to responsible public demonstrations—walks for peace, nonviolent direct action, civil disobedience, vigils at military bases—by pacifists and others who feel a mature obligation to act decisively for peace. The caliber of persons in this country and abroad who have engaged in nonviolent direct action for disarmament is very high. Individual and organizational failings can and should be freely criticized; but the sincerity, maturity, responsibility, and significance of most of the direct-action efforts for peace should be fully recognized by all.

3. Advocates of each approach to disarmament can join in supporting unilateral governmental initiatives toward multilateral disarmament, since in such steps the two approaches are clearly on common ground.

A positive effort should be made now to draw together and unify all anti-totalitarian members of the peace movement in this country and around the world, that its dynamic and effectiveness may be dramatically increased while there is yet time to achieve the survival of the human race by the abolition of international war.



The Game of CONFLICT

AN ARTICLE-REVIEW

BY WALLACE HAMILTON

FIGHTS, GAMES, AND DEBATES, by Anatol Rapoport, University of Michigan Press, 1960. 360 pp., $6.95.

AS BRITAIN, IT IS SAID, won her imperial battles on the playing fields of Eton, the United States is apparently fighting the Cold War with theories developed around the poker tables at Princeton. The old speculation on when to fold, when to raise, and when to call inspired some worldly mathematicians to formulate a theory of gambling which, in turn, was extended by John von Neumann into a theory of games.

Since the theory was first published in 1947, it has affected almost all branches of mathematicized science. But even though game-theorists are fond of explaining their ideas in terms of tic-tac-toe and button, button, who's got the button, they manage to elaborate their theories with such a wealth of mathematical invention that the layman is soon befuddled.

One of the most recent applications of the game theory has been in Herman Kahn's book *On Thermonuclear War.* Since Mr. Kahn's "realistic" appraisal of current possibilities and probabilities indicates that the price of "punishing the Soviets for their aggressions" would be the death of about sixty million Americans, and that disarmament and world governments are "utopian," many people have concluded that the game theory is a gruesome necromancy, and another surrender of humanity to the electronic computer. We foresee the development of what Norbert Wiener describes as "the chess-playing machine grown up and encased in a suit of armor."

It is fortunate that, after Mr. Kahn's dark fulminations, we now have a civilized book on the game theory in particular, and "social physics" in general. The Center for Research on Conflict Resolution has published, through the University of Michigan Press, a survey of conflict situations called *Fights, Games, and Debates* by Anatol Rapoport, associate professor of mathematical biology at Michigan.

Dr. Rapoport sets forth three fundamental forms of conflict: the fight to destroy, the game to outwit, and the debate to convince the adversary. In his treatment of both fights and games, the author relies heavily on mathematics. But he enlivens his formulations with such vivid anecdotal material and such a lucid style that the mathematics becomes . . . well, *almost* comprehensible.

In his survey of the mathematics of fights, *i.e.,* wars, Dr. Rapoport relies heavily on the studies of Lewis F. Richardson on arms races: how they start, accelerate, reach a point of stability, and (sometimes) decelerate. In trying to identify causes, and assign values to those factors, including such fascinating factors as "psychological epidemics" of hostility, Dr. Rapoport is being highly theoretical, and he knows it, but at least, writes the good mathematician, "our conclusions will be rigorous consequences of our assumptions, even if the model may not fit any real situation."

He then goes on to an exposition of the game theory that seems just about as clear and concise as the complexity of the subject will allow. In the course of this exposition he tells a fable of conflict resolution that is a classic of its kind. The fable concerns two amateur musicians, Luke and Matthew.

"Luke likes to play classical music on the piano. Matthew loves to improvise hot jazz on a trumpet. . . . Unfortunately,

the two men live in adjoining, nonsound-proof flats, and have only one hour each evening to play—the same hour. How can they jointly arrange for dividing the practicing evenings so as not to interfere with each other's pleasure?"

Out of this seemingly simple situation, Dr. Rapoport makes a twelve-page analysis. But the big point is that he comes up with a solution. And that solution is based on the assignment of a numerical scale to the various alternative actions of the two men involved and their relative preferences. The implications of this kind of thinking in labor negotiations, racial conflict, and even domestic dissension is enough to rescue the game theory from Mr. Kahn's clutches and make the theory of considerable interest to pacifists.

It is quite possible to contend, for instance, that Gandhi, in his leadership of the Indian independence movement, was involved in a complex coalition game. For all his soul-force, Gandhi very probably doubted that he could convert the British Conservatives to a peaceful acceptance of Indian independence, but bringing his influence to bear on the British Laborites and other key segments of world opinion, he forged a coalition that ultimately made India free.

The Freedom Riders in the U. S. South are involved in a similar effort. It is doubtful that they will be able to win the governors and jailkeepers, their manifest adversaries, to an acceptance of racial integration, but they may be able, by their sacrifice, to establish some relationship with the electorate that put the governors and jailkeepers in office.

But game-playing is a means. The end objective of conflict is either to destroy the adversary or to convince him. The last section of Dr. Rapoport's book is a discussion of debates and ways of persuasion. It is at once the most stimulating and the least successful section.

Dr. Rapoport identifies only three methods of modifying images or patterns of response. (Having been in public relations work for a good many years, I would suggest that there were more than three, but since Dr. Rapoport likens public relations men, in their pride of craftsmanship, to the professional assassins of the Italian Renaissance, perhaps I'd better keep my peace!)

The first of Dr. Rapoport's methods is brainwashing, the Pavlovian conditioning of reflexes by punishment and reward, a method familiar to American readers through *Darkness at Noon* and *1984*. Although this conditioning is the basis of training programs for the development of various physical skills, Dr. Rapoport points out that the technique "holds little promise as a method of changing the outlook of an opponent who cannot be browbeaten or who does not himself submit to the process."

He also rejects "explaining the image away" by psychoanalysis because of the lack of "complete trust" in the non-clinical context of debate. Instead, Dr. Rapoport favors the non-directive techniques of Carl R. Rogers, "conveying to the opponent that he has been heard and understood, delineating the region of validity of the opponent's stand," and then doing something called "inducing the assumption of similarity," a concept so vague that the reader almost wishes Dr. Rapoport would get back to his mathematical formulae.

The plea is apparently for "empathetic understanding," a notion that "belongs properly in the arts rather than in the sciences." Here's how the author expresses it:

> "Having shown the opponent that we can see his image and that we recognize the contexts in which this image is valid or inevitable, we must invite him to perform the same exercise with respect to us. This is the hardest task in the debate. No rules can be stated for carrying it out, because an explicit following of rules is self-defeating: it makes the invitation appear as a strategy, and calls for a counterstrategy. Once the method of persuasion is seen as a stratagem, the whole solution falls into the pattern of game-like conflict, and we are back where we started."

But even though the author can't explain it any better than that, he can *do* it, and he proves it in a remarkable epilogue. He notes that in the Cold War, "power experts meet power experts and the struggle to be cast in power-play maneuvers . . . with opposing positions verbalized in operationally meaningless assertions." But, he continues, "we cannot afford to

(Continued on Page 34)

AIDS FOR PEACE ACTION

BY WILLIAM ROBERT MILLER

IN THE NEWARK News one Sunday last month, the following advertisement appeared:

> Want to prevent World War III? Work for peace? Contact Fellowship of Reconciliation, N. J. area, 222 Main St., So. Bound Brook. Tel. HO 9-1252 or EL 6-3096.

This notice symbolized the renewing of a nationwide campaign of grass roots peace action that has enlisted the efforts of some 800 local volunteers and a score of part- and full-time FOR Field Workers in cities from coast to coast.

The man who placed the advertisement is the Rev. Henry D. Frost, a retired clergyman who wanted to do something for peace and, through the FOR Local Volunteers program, has found a way to do it. Since taking up his duties as a Field Worker on a subsistence salary, he has turned Central New Jersey into the hub of a rapidly growing number of peace activities. Mr. Frost has set up meetings at Drew University, Rutgers and Princeton, bringing in noted FOR speakers such as James M. Lawson and involving faculty members who belong to the Fellowship. Last November, half a dozen such meetings were held, as well as a churchmen's breakfast conference to discuss problems of peace, with Princeton Seminary Prof. John Hick as leader. During the same month, Mr. Frost placed ten copies of FELLOWSHIP with a newsdealer in New Brunswick, and sent in to the national office the names of thirty people who had expressed an interest in the FOR, to receive trial subscriptions to FELLOWSHIP. Attendance at various meetings during the month ranged from as few as five or six to as many as twenty, twenty-five and seventy.

This is just one Field Worker's report for one month. It is not a full report, either. In January, Frost launched the first issue of the mimeographed New Jersey FOR Newsletter with a circulation of 750 copies in an area that includes 400 FOR members. Henry Frost is always on the go —activating the inactive, organizing the unorganized, persuading the unpersuaded. He has given a lift and a sense of forward movement and direction to the cause of peace in his area.

Not every FOR Field Worker has been able to reach and maintain such a high level of activity—but not every Field Worker has had as large a membership base or as responsive an area to start with. Nor are they all retired clergymen—many are young men in training for the ministry, dividing their time between classroom and mimeograph machine. Others are housewives or people with regular jobs—like the bulk of the volunteers they work with. Out of the total number of 800, some are engaged in activities like letter-writing, giving an hour or two each week, while others give as much as several hours a day, going from door to door or distributing leaflets on streetcorners—or developing a small, spiritually committed church group. There is no uniform pattern into which each must fit himself, but rather a broad and diverse program of interrelated activities

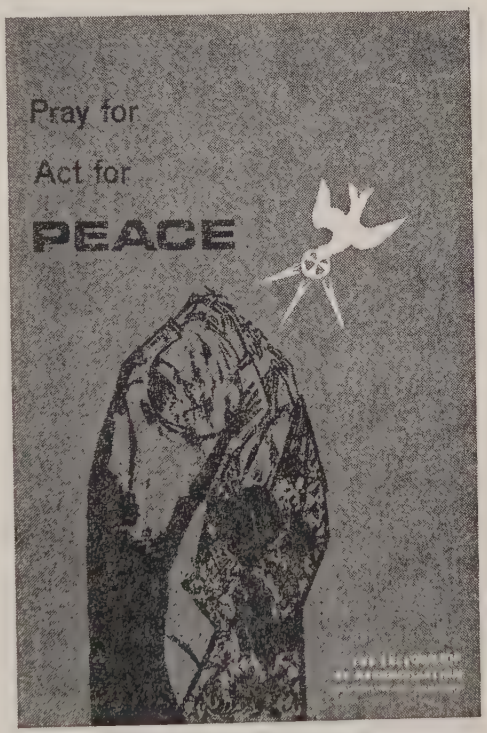
with room for everybody, from the most ardent to the more casual; from the person with time to spare who is seeking a meaningful alternative to boredom, to the always-too-busy pastor or professor. Many of the program's best volunteers are high school and college students, but there are others who somehow manage to balance peace action with the tasks of raising a family. Even a few bedridden people are making their contribution. It all adds up.

What does it add up to? Certainly the "pacifist movement" is far from sweeping the country. Even the rate of new FOR membership, though doubled, has not reached staggering proportions. But the plowman does not always linger for the harvest—what is significant is not only the new people who are being reached, many of them potential members who will not show up in the membership statistics for years to come, but also the many older members who are getting into the swim, speaking out for peace in their communities with renewed vigor and hope.

Although many people are involved in the work of the FOR Local Volunteers Program, the greatest share of credit belongs to the Rev. Glenn E. Smiley, the Fellowship's associate secretary for field work. Drawing upon years of experience as a Methodist pastor, as an FOR Regional Secretary in Los Angeles and Boston in past years, and more recently a trouble-shooting missionary of reconciliation, preaching and planning nonviolent action for brotherhood on campuses throughout the South, Smiley combines a genial disposition with a down-to-earth realism about the job to be done. Growing out of all these is an uncanny knack for developing program ideas and suggestions to translate general good will into specific action projects of all shapes and sizes to fit isolated individuals, teams and small groups —and to channelize existing skills as well as to develop the potentialities of those who appear to have none.

Nowhere is this illustrated better than in a sheaf of Aids for Peace Action that Glenn Smiley has produced—neat, concise mimeographed sheets with tangible, often step-by-step instructions on *how* to do a wide variety of things for peace, ranging from letters-to-the-editor to public opinion polls and poster walks, and including discussion guides for films, a full agenda for a high school or college "service day" and many other projects that FOR local volunteers are engaging in today.

These Aids for Peace Action are free. To get them, you don't have to be a member of the Fellowship of Reconciliation. You only have to want to work for peace, whether you can spend much or little time and effort. Some of the Aids include printed matter for the volunteers to make use of —such as a portable FOR literature display kit for meetings, and a new series of peace posters in various sizes. Not all of these are free.



On the back cover of this issue of FELLOWSHIP, you will find a simple, dignified 2-color poster designed to stimulate interest in peace and to link it with the FOR. Chances are there is a bulletin board in your school or church that has space for a poster like this. Why not clip it off and try it—as your first Peace Action. Additional copies of this little poster, as well as larger posters and other Aids can be obtained from the FOR—just write to the Rev. Glenn E. Smiley, FOR, Box 271, Nyack, New York.

potpourri

The All-Christian Peace Assembly in Prague

The First All-Christian Peace Assembly, held in Prague June 13-18, was planned as an ecumenical conference, the first in history to deal with war and peace. In relation to the church's discipleship to Christ it came 1600 years late, but such an East-West Christian assembly would probably not have come at all but for the persevering earnestness of Czech churchmen, who took the initiative for the three Prague conferences of 1958, 1959, 1960 and then for this latest and by far largest conclave. Nearly 700 attended (about half of them from the communist countries)—a number not very conducive to the acting of the Holy Spirit but advantageous at least in making for innumerable twos and threes between sessions. And several times the Spirit clearly stirred even the 700.

It was hardly a historic assembly, one to mark a turn in the direction of the church's mission. The Eastern speakers, especially the Orthodox, were highly reiterative about their being for peace and against war. Western Christians, like Western political leaders, generally assume but do not emphasize this about themselves. Our Eastern brethren have an intense yearning for peace that we need far more of in the West. But it is saddening that in spite of the declaration of the Third Prague Peace Conference, "No Christian should take part in atomic war or in preparation for it," most Christians in the East are not ready for a stand decisively different from the prevailing one in numerous statements by Western churches: both sides cry out against nuclear war and urge disarmament, but, in view of the "obstinacy" of the other side, do not disavow their side's continuing in the arms race. The official "Peace, peace" of the Assembly was no word to heal the wound in Christ's people, but considerable healing did come in the personal contacts.

Dean Josef L. Hromadka of the Comenius Faculty in Prague gave the main address, speaking to the conference theme, "Peace on Earth." As theological grounding he developed the idea that as God in Christ shared the depths and heights of human life, so are we to stand with and experience with all men in their personal, economic, social, and international struggles. A church should never become a tool of an anti-Eastern—or anti-Western—crusade. We must understand contemporary man in his positive longing for a new society, and even in his unbelief.

Richard Ullmann, a British Friend, gave the most incisive of the five supplementary addresses. He believes we would do better to speak of *concluding* peace than of *making* peace. We are never really the outsider who (like Christ) makes peace between others. In any warring we are involved as one of the unpeaceful ones and need to be incessantly concluding peace. He pointed out that any "peaceful co-existence" where there is the desire that our system win and the other system be removed, cannot really be peaceful but will inevitably shift toward cold, or even hot, war. Co-existence (separately alongside each other) must give way to living for each other (pro-existence). We must seek to understand the other man from inside rather than condemning him from outside. Radical universal disarmament will become possible only when we see the rights, apprehensions, and needs of the other side as clearly as our own. Our task as Christians is to live and preach that spirit in which alone political problems become soluble.

Inviolable Liberty?

The two middle days of the Assembly went to ten "discussion groups," specializing on themes ranging from the German problem, to the new states, to peace service by youth. The groups averaged 60-70, and in most of them there was little or no discussion in an American sense, for the West, no less than the East, Europeans proceed by speeches.

I was in the group dealing with "Peace and Freedom," an especially enlightening one for Americans. With freedom being invoked dozens of times in each presidential foreign policy talk, it is arresting to be told by an East German pastor, "I find no place in the New Testament where freedom is spoken of as something that can be taken from us except by God." For the Easterners an African Christian's talk about freedom of expression, association, and worship and Philip Eastman's exposition on religious liberty smacked too much of nineteenth-century liberalism. The East Germans pointed to Christ as the freedom of his church. The church has the freedom which Christ lived as man and Son of God. Jesus was free to suffer, he was free in suffering, free even under the terror of the cross. Through Jesus the Church is free to suffer among men and should demand for them freedom from human terror.

This last point was taken up by a young American: the church is to come to men's aid against human terror; concretely, where in West and East is man's freedom endangered, and thus where and how is the church to intervene? It became clear that most from the East were (understandably) shy about considering outward political implications of inner Christian freedom and also that we of the West tend toward an unbiblical view of freedom.

China and the U.S.

A few hours in any of the Prague sessions can make a person more sympathetic with the diplomats who find themselves in stalemate at Geneva. One may keep from getting disgusted at "the other side," but it is extraordinarily difficult really to listen.

When a Chinese bishop delivers an address which is mostly an attack on U.S. policies, how is one to do any reconciling? Kurtis Naylor, an American Brethren, came to the platform. He quoted from Ullmann: "We are here, in honest and sometimes rather difficult discussions, to see one another, as it were in the mirror of the other side. We are trying not to push aside, simply as a crude distortion, the picture which is in the mind of our Christian brother from the other side, but to accept it in mutual humility. We want to learn from this picture in the mirror, not always a very pleasant one to look at, how deeply we are enmeshed by our prejudices and how much resistance we are still offering to the liberating call of God in Jesus Christ." We want, said Naylor, prayerfully to consider the statement of our brother's concern for our involvement. Where his stress is correct, may we have the courage and humility to see our sin. A right we cherish in our country is that as Christians under the gospel we can openly speak and oppose government policies and, if need be, seek to change the government. After a benediction he shook hands with Bishop Ting as a surge of applause filled the auditorium. Russians too felt that God had moved among us. —DALE AUKERMAN

ATTENTION COLLEGE FOLK

(Others May Read too)

Faculty members: Every literate and concerned person ought to become acquainted with FELLOWSHIP. There must be at least a few such people among your academic colleagues—and if you'll send us a list of their names and addresses, we'll be happy to send each of them a free sample copy of this magazine. Please include the college librarian on your list.

Students: You don't have to be a faculty member to do the above. At the same time, we would welcome a select list of those classmates you know who have indicated an interest in the things FELLOWSHIP stands for.

Grads and others: Does the library of your Alma Mater carry FELLOWSHIP? If not, will you try to rectify this lamentable situation? Hint: gift subscriptions are $3—with a special $2.50 rate for libraries and $2 for students.

All: When discussing current affairs, how often do you use the phrase "I read it in FELLOWSHIP"?

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BOOKS

Voyage Into Danger

THE FORBIDDEN VOYAGE by Earle Reynolds. David McKay 1961. 281 pp., $4.95.

Few stories are epics. This one is. It is an heroic story of human, conscionable man voluntarily opposing inhuman, unconscionable power. Its appeal is universal, for its antagonists are the justified violences, institutional corruptions, and human deteriorations that now threaten, in the name of God or Marx or Hitler, to overwhelm or destroy every man. Its protagonists are, consequently, our patriots. We identify with it because it is our odyssey. It is, very appropriately, dedicated to YOU.

The Forbidden Voyage is a fascinating yarn. It takes the *Phoenix* and its valiant crew—the *Phoenix* family: Earle, Barbara, Ted, Jessica, and Nick Mikami—into the Eniwetok-Bikini nuclear bomb-test area; into court and courts; decision and indecision; delays, deceits, "disgrace"; generous, unexpected support; suffering and persecution; finally to full and triumphant vindication.

The author is a distinguished scientist. His training to observe, to select, and forthrightly to set forth facts serves the story well. The facts alone are of compelling interest and "cliff-hanging" suspense. Fortunately, Earle Reynolds' wit, wisdom, and compassion also make this a very warm, personal, and human account.

It is a story that had to be told. For *The Forbidden Voyage* is largely a forbidden story too. Among the many unworthy maneuvers of our government was a powerful pressure to censor or distort the story. Perhaps you will better understand this as the facts reveal the shocking means used by the government to justify its ends.

You will, with the *Phoenix,* encounter such deliberate deceits, trickery, injustices, callousness, irresponsibilities—debasements and denials of democracy—as to make you burn with resentment. This high-handed subversion of our system of government will make you agree with Thoreau: "There is no odor so bad as that which rises from goodness tainted"!

But you will, with Earle Reynolds and his gallant crew, rise above such resentment. And you'll see that same system of government provide justice in the end. You'll realize that the telling of the story of *Phoenix* has also given you a rich treasure of scientific, legal, political, and moral wisdom.

Above all, this is the story of the testing of a man. The opportunity unexpectedly came to a ruggedly independent scientist to become deeply involved in mankind. It involved a complete commitment, a risk of everything he had and is. Earle Reynolds staunchly stood the test and, in doing so, found new dimensions, new meanings, and . . . himself.

Just before this book was published, 60 scientists of the world met in Oslo, Norway. They said this, in part:

> "Those who advocate the spread of nuclear weapons are making an understandable but archaic response to a radically new situation. This new situation demands a new understanding of moral responsibility. Restriction of loyalty to within national boundaries is obsolete, and loyalty to the whole of mankind is now a necessity. Individuals must bear personal responsibility for acts contrary to the interests of mankind. "Scientists and scholars have a unique responsibility to make plain the full significance of the revolutionary weapons development of the past decade. This requires presentation of factual information about the effects of atomic and hydrogen bombs, the over-all consequences of nuclear war, and the brutalizing effects of preparation for nuclear war upon the values of our society. At the same time, their constructive proposals for coping with these grave problems are essential. Both wisdom and skill are needed to build movements capable of wresting our future from destruction."

And courage and inspiration like the *Phoenix,* too.

A former Navy colleague, meeting me on my return from Honolulu, asked what had happened—had I "got religion"? Earle Reynolds tells how, after he had "got religion," Gilbert Bowles came over and shook hands with him.

" 'We're glad to have you with us,' he said.

" 'I'll probably make the world's worst Quaker,' I said.

" 'Now that remark,' he smiled, 'is the clue to your personality. You have to excel in everything you do.' "

His book is no exception!

—ALBERT BIGELOW

A Christian "Great Soul"

KAGAWA OF JAPAN by Cyril J. Davey. Abingdon 1961. 150 pp., $2.50.

Dr. Davey has written a moving, human story of the life and work of one of Japan's great Christians. The author has avoided both the sentimentality and extravagant claims indulged in by some of Dr. Kagawa's admirers which have reduced the stature of the man by depicting him as a superman and making of him a legend rather than a flesh and blood human being.

In the sense that a prophet is one who can look for truth beyond the confines of his own era and consider the issues of his day in the long perspective of the future, Toyohiko Kagawa deserves the title of prophet. A thoughtful reading of Dr. Davey's book, moreover, presents a challenge to Christians of the West to reappraise their responsibility in seeking a solution for racial tensions, social and economic justice, peaceful settlement of disputes and the outlawry of war.

Dr. Davey has succeeded in presenting to his readers the exciting, almost incredible career of a man, working against seemingly insuperable odds—physical, mental and psychological—whose philosophy of life and action emerges from the development and maturing of his character as a result of his own experience and experimentation in living.

Against the background of his early days spent in the atmosphere created by a broken home life, we witness the growth of Kagawa from his youthful idealism to the more realistic assessment of the needs of society. His years in the slums where he shared his bed and board with the dregs of society revealed to him the necessity of attacking the problem of poverty at its roots. After a year in the United States, he returned with a new attitude toward what needed to be done about two aspects of the problem. The first was the problem of the slums themselves, which must be swept away. The second was that, even if the slums were wiped out, so long as laborers were not paid a living wage and were forbidden to negotiate or strike, they would inevitably recreate the slums all over again. Thus, Kagawa became a leader in the labor movement and supporter of the

CONTRIBUTORS IN THIS ISSUE

Sidney Lens is one of our most frequent contributors, and one of the most popular. Our March issue, featuring his report, *Which Way Cuba,* sold out rapidly despite an extra press run, and reprints of the article at 15¢ each have been selling well ever since. He is currently completing a tour of Latin American trouble spots and, as a special correspondent for FELLOWSHIP, has already sent us material on Mexico and Venezuela for the November 1 issue.

David Andrews is director of the Methodist Student Center at Appalachian State Teachers College in Boone, North Carolina, and formerly served as peace education secretary of the American Friends Service Committee Southeastern Regional Office.

John M. Swomley Jr. is associate professor of social ethics at St. Paul School of Theology in Kansas City. A former executive secretary of the FOR, Dr. Swomley has long been interested in military aspects of church-state relationships.

Wallace Hamilton is a public relations man and science writer, now living in San Francisco. His play, *The Burning of the Lepers,* was produced in Los Angeles in March and will open in San Francisco this fall. Mr. Hamilton has been an occasional contributor to FELLOWSHIP for the past fifteen years.

William Robert Miller is managing editor of FELLOWSHIP.

EUROPEAN PEACE TRIP — 1962

FOR-sponsored and directed peace seminar to Europe via chartered plane, for members only. Five weeks starting about August 1, 1962. Choice of one or two peace seminars, meeting major peace leaders in England and the Continent, plus sightseeing, etc., at very low rates. Adult and youth groups, accompanied by national staff members. Descriptive brochure ready October 1. Write for it at FOR, Box 271, Nyack, N. Y., and prepare now for peace and the event of your life.

socialist movement. It was natural for him to interpret the compassion of Jesus, which had come to be central in his life, in twentieth-century terms and especially in terms of Christian socialism. "I am not," he said "a Christian because I am a socialist. I am a socialist because I am a Christian."

Few Christians united in their religious philosophy the mystical and practical elements of faith as did Kagawa, and few followed so consistently the belief in nonviolence as revealed in the life and works of Jesus. Just as, throughout his life, Kagawa maintained his evangelistic approach, with its central theme, the Cross, so he never wavered from his pacifist position. It got him into trouble in school, alienated him from many of his supporters in the labor movement and even in the Church and singled him out as an enemy of the state during the war years. As a Christian leader, Kagawa accomplished in Japan what politicians only promised—care for the aged, help for the poor, more schools for children, slum clearance, higher wages, better working conditions and stronger economy and agricultural reform without ever being a government official.

During the Easter season, on April 23, 1960, Toyohiko Kagawa laid down his earthly burdens. Thus released from bodily infirmities, his spirit was freed to remain in the life of his people and the land he loved and served, extending beyond the boundaries of his native land. In the closing words of the author, "He had spent all his life trying to make his land a place of beauty and to the end he walked with his Risen Lord."

—Gladys Walser

COMMISSIONED CLERGYMEN

(Continued from Page 16)

Europe as well as subsequently, and (b) how the Quakers (only 20% of whom took the conscientious objector position in World War II) and the Church of the Brethren ministered to their men in the Army without accepting the military chaplaincy.

In England during World War I the Society of Friends officially appointed a number of individuals to visit military camps where Friends were, as well as prisons where conscientious objectors were held. These men were recognized in both the camps and the prisons as eligible to carry out the religious functions of a chaplain in ways that seemed to them appropriate. They were in no way financed or subsidized by the army or the state.

It would be well also to study what happens to religious men in armies, labor camps, etc., in Communist countries where no chaplaincy is provided.[9]

Finally, there should be an objective study of the attitudes of men in the armed forces and those discharged within a five year period, toward the chaplaincy, the church, etc. It may well be that such a study would reveal that the chaplaincy instead of helping the church or men in the armed forces, is a hindrance.

[9] see, for example, Helmut Gollwitzer, *Unwilling Journey* and John Noble, *I Found God in Soviet Russia.*

THE GAME OF CONFLICT

(Continued from Page 27)

turn away with a sneer on the ground that both sides are talking mostly nonsense."

Dr. Rapoport calls for a debate, "a genuine debate, not a fight and not a game. And since neither party is either in the position of a captive being brainwashed or in that of an eager disciple, the debate must be a debate between equals. Persuasion must be tempered by self-appraisal."

In that spirit, and using the Rogers principles he favors, Dr. Rapoport, who is Russian-born, writes a 21-page "Case for Collectivism" followed by a 25-page "Case for Individualism." Reading these two reasoned, tempered, and lucid statements, it is possible to realize the extent and depth of the nonsense that we are reading almost everywhere else these days.

Anatol Rapoport's *Fights, Games, and Debates* belongs in that select company of books (Norbert Wiener's *The Human Use of Human Beings* and W. C. Allee's *Social Life of Animals* are two others) that may well make up the scientific part of a good pacifist library. It is quite possible that in the next decade, men working in the behavioral sciences are going to add many more books to that collection, bringing confirmation, evidence, added scope, and perhaps sharp challenge to traditional religious pacifist thought that is still largely intuitive.

LETTERS

It is Fellowship's policy to print all letters of general interest to its readers, within reasonable limits of space, whether they agree with Fellowship's viewpoint or not. You can help to keep this column a free forum by limiting your letters to 200 words.

An Author Defends His Book

Dear Editors:

Can you permit me, in your columns, a brief correction of the crucial point in William Robert Miller's review of my *Christian Ethics and the Sit-In*? [July 1 issue of FELLOWSHIP.]

In the context in this writing on Christian ethics I did not say that there is "no ethical difference between violent and nonviolent resistance," but no *Christian* ethical difference, which lies rather in the distinction between resistance in any form and non-resisting Christian love. And once such love justifies resistance, I did say that the difference between violent and nonviolent methods is one of only "tactical" significance, a distinction to be drawn by "prudence."

However, I did not imply that these are not very significant distinctions indeed. The word "tactical" was used in technical contrast with the main "strategy" of Christian ethics, and was not at all pejorative. And I hold the highest respect for "prudence" as one of the cardinal virtues in the moral life; and a Christian virtue in its work of applying Christian love to cases. It means "practical wisdom," which no Christian can do without. While the word "tactical" was perhaps poorly chosen, I said that such distinctions are "not, for this reason, without ethical significance." At another point I use the word "expedience" (again a perfectly good word, as against doing anything inexpedient), and promptly point out that "in the same breath it should be said that expediency often draws distinctions that are of importance for morality."

I do believe that the principles and way by which a Christian arrives at a decision to use any form of resistance are subject to analysis, and *only in this sense* did I compare non-violence with warfare. Each is asserted to belong to the *morality of means*, and Christians have like reasons for employing either, and each is subject to the same analysis of limits. This in no sense implies that the first may not be vastly preferable to the second.

I freely confess I am not a man of action. Commitment, however, is another matter. As to where I was when American bombs were raining on refugee-packed Dresden in 1945, I was probably still a member of the Fellowship of Reconciliation (inactive, to be sure, than even as now). Subsequently I have subjected such heinous deeds to better ethical analysis than I was capable of then (*War and the Christian Conscience*, Duke, 1961).

"High yellow gal" was placed in quotation marks as the asserted ground for a state-wide boycott organized by the *White Citizens Council* in Mississippi against the local dealers of a company accused of sponsoring a national television show the Council objected to. No reader should have imagined the use of that phrase indicated anything of my own attitude. "Persons of Jewish blood" was used as carelessly as we all speak of "*race* relations."

I am, of course, appreciative of Mr. Miller's extensive words in commendation of my book. He may be as wrong in this as he is in the criticism I have singled out.

—PAUL RAMSEY
Dept. of Religion,
Princeton University

Civil Defense in a Foreign Perspective

Dear Editors:

I have just read the excellent article on Civil Defense in the May issue. I agree with it fully, but cannot help feeling that one important aspect has been neglected. This is the reaction of countries other than the one nominated to be our adversary; that is, our military or moral allies and the uncommitted countries.

If I were a thoughtful citizen of such a country I would look quite carefully at what America was doing in civil defense. My own country would for the most part be too crowded or too poor or both to consider the kind of expenditure which the USA is talking about. I would realize that my only hope of avoiding annihilation is to have both the USA and the USSR work wholeheartedly for peace. If one of the countries appeared to have given up the fight for peace and was spending billions in an effort to save some portion of its own citizens in an inevitable holacaust, I would be likely to switch my sympathy and support to the other country.

Thus it seems to me that the more we spend on and appear to believe in Civil Defense, the more we alienate our foreign sympathizers and isolate ourselves even more completely and thus in turn bring the prospects of war closer. On the other hand if we identify ourselves with their interests . . . etc., etc., and here my argument merges right in with the positive emphasis contained at the end of your article.

—DAVID H. SCULL
Annandale, Va.

Los Filmos Norteamericanos

Dear Editors:

Many factors put us in a bad light with our Latin American neighbors. Not the least of these is the movie industry. Movies are the main means of diversion in most of these towns and cities. People attend movies for the mere purpose of diversion so that they attend regardless of the pictures given. Most of the pictures given here in Saenz Pēna (for example) are North American. An extremely high percentage of these are war and western pictures. The war pictures frequently show how one or two North Americans in extremely disadvantageous situations triumph over scores and even hundreds of Japs, Germans, Mexicans, etc. I might add that many pic-

tures which come are quite old and in bad repair. The intelligence system of the U.S. is always superior to the stupid activities of "natives." While this type of ego-fanning doesn't appear out of place in the States, it sure looks ridiculous over here. An attitude of disgust has built up over the years so that the Latins tend to laugh and outwardly rejoice at our current set-backs. Many people don't stop to consider that these movies are pure industry and have nothing to do with U.S. Government propaganda. Couldn't something be done to censor the type of movies being sent to these countries? Our musicals and comedies are much more appreciated.

—Elmer S. Miller
Chaco, Argentina

An Appeal for the Senecas

Dear Editors:

While we speak of settling disputes in Laos, the Congo and elsewhere, are we aware of the plight of the Seneca Indians? They are facing expulsion from their ancestral New York homeland because of the proposed building of the Kinzua Dam recommended by the army engineers for flood control. Last year Congress appropriated the money for the dam and, according to reports, construction of new roads has already begun.

Have we adequately considered the alternate plan suggested by an independent engineering firm and Arthur E. Morgan, formerly Chief Engineer of TVA? It is the Conewango-Cattaraugus plan which would "discharge excess water from extreme floods northward into Lake Erie via the pre-glacial channel of the Allegheny."

Arthur Morgan states that this plan would give Pittsburgh total protection from floods, while the Kinzua plan would give only 30%. Moreover, it would save the taxpayers an estimated $100,000,000.

It is not too late to right a wrong and refrain from violating the ancestral homeland of the Seneca Indians. Thus we would preserve the first treaty of the United States: "Treaty with the Seneca Nation of the Iroquois Confederacy," signed on November 11, 1794 by Timothy Pickering, personal envoy of George Washington, and confirmed by a personal letter from George Washington.

In the midst of the busy routine of life, let us take time to write a letter to President Kennedy, thus trying to help the Seneca Indians; save the U.S.A. $100,000,000; and have a more efficient engineering project.

—Elsie R. Renne
Menlo Park, California

Donates Tax Refund to FOR

Dear Editors:

Each year in April I am forced to pay taxes, a large portion of which goes to support a military organization to which I am morally opposed.

This year, however, I received a refund check for $26.10. While the money might be of some use to me, I should like you to accept it to further your works for peace. Keep up your good work!

I would also appreciate it if you would send me a year's subscription to your magazine, Fellowship and a membership blank.

—John S. Cramton
Philadelphia, Pa.

THAT MEN MAY LIVE . . . in peace together

FELLOWSHIP is published by the Fellowship of Reconciliation, a religious organization based on the belief that love, such as that seen pre-eminently in Jesus, must serve as the true guide of personal conduct under all circumstances. Members of the FOR seek to demonstrate this love as the effective force for overcoming evil and transforming society into a creative fellowship. Although members do not bind themselves to an exact form of words,

- They refuse to participate in any war or to sanction military preparations; they work to abolish war and to foster good will among nations, races, and classes;
- They strive to build a social order which will suffer no individual or group to be exploited for the profit or pleasure of another, and which will assure to all the means for realizing the best possibilities of life;
- They advocate such ways of dealing with offenders against society as shall transform the wrongdoer rather than inflict retributive punishment;
- They endeavor to show reverence for personality—in the home, in the education of children, in association with persons of other classes, nationalities, and races;
- They seek to avoid bitterness and contention, and to maintain the spirit of self-giving love while engaged in the struggle to achieve these purposes.

All persons, regardless of race, sex or religious affiliation, who conscientiously support this affirmation of purpose, are invited to become members of the Fellowship. Membership is not conditional upon contributions of money. However, contributions are invited and are deductible for income tax purposes. For a free copy of the full Statement of Purpose (with membership application), write to Box 271, Nyack, New York.

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Rev. Theodore A. Braun
807 West Beaver Avenue
State College, Penna.

Pray for

Act for

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